THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN AFRICA

A STUDY BASED ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AT LE ZOUTE, BELGIUM, SEPTEMBER 14TH TO 21ST, 1926

By EDWIN W. SMITH

Author of
'A Handbook of the Ila Language,' 'The Golden Stool,' etc., and
Part-Author of 'The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia'

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LITERARY SUPERINTENDENT OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY

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Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O children of Israel? saith the Lord.—AMOS ix. 7

1926

THE INTERNATIONAL MISSIONARY COUNCIL

EDINBURGH HOUSE, 2 EATON GATE, LONDON, S.W.1

25 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, U.S.A.

MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN

TO THOSE
WHO LAID THE TRAIL—

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VASCO DA GAMA
JAN VAN RIEBEEK
GEORGE SCHMIDT
MUNGO PARK
WILLIAM WILBERFORCE
WILLIAM BOYCE
SAMUEL CROWTHER
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Dr. Ayles
UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
JAN 19 1959

THE CONFERENCE AT PRAYER

FOR the courage and hardy endurance of explorers and pioneers; for the zeal and patience of men of science and for their discoveries; for the heroic fight of doctors and nurses against the diseases of Africa; for the skill and triumph of engineers; for the order, security and progress resulting from the efforts of soldiers, statesmen and administrators; for the diligence and faithfulness of scholars in the study of the languages and customs of the peoples of Africa—

We thank Thee, O God.

For the service, the faith, hope and love, of missionaries; for Gonzalo, Livingstone, Krapf, Merensky, Steere, Coillard, Mackay, Grenfell and the multitude whom no man can number, who have pioneered and prayed, laboured, endured, suffered and died for Africa—

We thank Thee, O God.

For all the admirable and lovable qualities with which the peoples of Africa have been endowed by nature, and for the qualities to which they may attain, and to which many have attained, by grace—

We thank Thee, O God.

O God, we weak and sinful men, knowing our weakness and sinfulness and putting all our trust in Thy mercy, beseech Thee to grant us Thy grace that where Thou dost call we may follow, what Thou dost offer we may receive, so that we may be delivered from the narrow limitations of our present thinking and the paralysing power of our inhibitions and fears, and that if Thou dost call for volunteers for new adventures we may be found ready. Amen.

O Thou, who art heroic love, keep alive in our hearts that adventurous spirit, which makes men scorn the way of safety so that Thy will be done. For so only, O Lord, shall we be worthy of those courageous souls who in every age have ventured all in obedience to Thy call, and for whom the trumpets have sounded on the other side; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PREFACE

IN a light-hearted moment I consented to write a book on the great Le Zoute Conference. I was asked not to produce an ordinary record of speeches and resolutions (for this, it was said, would not be read), but to steep my mind in the material to be gathered from papers and discussions, and then to write about it in my own way, interpreting the significance of the whole. It was evidently a task of difficulty and responsibility, but how difficult I did not realize at the time I gave my promise. I confess that sometimes I have been tempted to wish that I had never undertaken it. I have persevered in the hope that, however imperfect, my presentment may in some degree help members of the Conference to recapture its spirit and bring to people who were not there the vision and the thrill that were ours.

I took full notes of the discussions at which I was present. I have also had the advantage of a stenographer's transcript. I am grateful to members who sent me notes of the sectional meetings at which I could not be present. In the first part of the volume I have woven in much of this material, often without quoting names. But I have not attempted to report all that was said.

It goes without saying that there were differences of opinion at Le Zoute—such differences as may exist despite a unity of purpose and determination. I do not profess to have agreed with everything that was said. My duty is not to obtrude my own convictions unduly, and to be scrupulously fair in reporting those which are not mine. I hope that I have succeeded in not showing any bias by my choice of material.

It should be clearly understood that the Conference is not to be held responsible for any statement in this book, except its formal recommendations and resolutions.

In the second part of the book we have grouped a number of the principal addresses, together with the recommendations, minutes and other matter. Miss G. A. Gollock has generously relieved me of the editing and arranging of these papers. I am grateful also for her help in the first part of the book. Without her skilful and assiduous aid, I could not have completed my work in such a short time.

Our hope is that this book may be of service to the Christian Mission in Africa.

E. W. S.

146 Queen Victoria Street, E.C. 4
October 26th, 1926

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	The New Africa	1
II.	Retrospect	8
III.	Facing the Facts	13
IV.	The Conference	25
V.	Preaching the Gospel to Africans	36
VI.	The African Church	47
VII.	Education	56
VIII.	Towards a Healthy Africa	73
IX.	Land and Labour in Africa	82
X.	Co-operation in and for Africa	92
XI.	What it all Means to Us	102
	Recommendations and Resolutions	108
	Speeches and Papers [1]—	
	New Forces in Africa. T. Jesse Jones	127
	Statement by Canon Anson Phelps Stokes	135
	The Contact of Europe and Africa. Louis Franck	137
	The Medical Task in Africa. Dr Broden	142
	Statement by Dr Louise Pearce	146
	Progress in Africa. Sir Frederick Lugard	148

[1] Other equally important speeches and papers have been absorbed in the preceding text.

lighted to portray as an African one of the three kings who brought gifts to the infant Jesus. It was not forgotten that it was the soil of Africa He first pressed when He was learning to walk; nor that it was an African who bore His cross. Of these things, and some others, our forefathers were aware. But of the inhabitants of Africa they knew as little as they knew of the lands stretching south of the Sahara and the cataracts of the Nile. Lacking knowledge their imagination peopled its endless and waterless wastes with fabulous creatures and fantastic men, 'with divers faces wonderly and horribly shapen.'

The change that has taken place since those days, comparatively recent, is one of the most remarkable that history records.

Making the New Africa

THE year 1415 marked a new era in the history of Africa. For it was then that the Portuguese, by the capture of Ceuta on the Barbary coast, began the process which has continued to our own day. Moved less by the love of exploration than by a desire for gold and ivory and slaves and zeal for converting the heathen, the Portuguese thereafter began to sail their caravels southwards along the western coast of Africa. In 1484 they reached the Congo, in 1486 they circumnavigated the Cape of Good Hope. The figure of Africa as we know it now began to take shape on the maps, and Angiolo Poliziano, the foremost scholar of the Renaissance, felt able to congratulate the Portuguese upon the recovery of a continent, long abandoned to savagery, for Christianity and civilization.

The delineation of the coast-line, however, added nothing to Europe's knowledge of the interior of the continent. Further discovery was postponed to a later time. The New World of the West drew attention away from Africa. The rich commercial gains offered by the Far East absorbed the enterprise of the seamen and merchants who followed the course laid down by Vasco da Gama. When in 1562 the Dutch founded a settlement on Table Bay they regarded it not as a colony but as a port of call on the way to India. Central Africa's day had not yet dawned.

Meanwhile one product of the continent proved to be a bait more alluring than ivory or spices or gold. When demands arose for labourers to cultivate the rich islands and mainland of America,

the fatal discovery was made that Africa could supply all the hands that were needed. So came into being the transatlantic slave-trade, of all forms of traffic the most abhorrent. Its strategic position for commerce first gave Africa importance in the estimation of Europe, but for two centuries at least its chief value was as an apparently inexhaustible reservoir of cheap labour.

Then came the revival of religion in Great Britain, and the proclamation of the Rights of Man in France. The years that immediately followed saw the birth of the great missionary societies which have played so large a part in making the New Africa. The long struggle against the slave-trade educated the peoples of Europe and America, and sowed the seeds of the new attitude towards the black man which are to-day ripening to harvest.

The nineteenth century also ushered in a new age of exploration. Already in the latter decades of the eighteenth century James Bruce had determined the course of the Blue Nile, and Mungo Park had reached the Niger from the West Coast. Now was seen an astonishing efflorescence of man's adventurous spirit. Men and women pushed through the barriers which Nature had apparently erected to keep Europeans out. During the first half of the nineteenth century the Sahara was repeatedly crossed ; Lake Chad was discovered ; the Niger was traced from source to mouth. Meanwhile two missionaries, Krapf and Rebmann, had discovered the snow-clad peaks of Kenya and Kilimanjaro ; about the same time David Livingstone began his epoch-making travels by crossing the Kalahari desert to Lake Ngami. In the sixth and seventh decades Burton and Speke and Grant made known the great lakes, Tanganyika and Victoria, and read the riddle of the Nile. Then came H. M. Stanley with his culminating journey across Africa in 1874–77. It was not only a great adventure. These illustrious explorers, and many others, revealed the vast natural resources of the continent to a generation that was awakening to its need for raw materials and new markets. Once the potential wealth of Africa was disclosed, it became inevitable that efforts would be made to render it available for all the world.

It was well for Africa that she remained closed until the public conscience of Europe and America was prepared for the trust that Providence had in store for them. Had the way been opened from the early and middle ages one dreads to think of what would have happened to Africa—and to Europe too.

One man above all others—David Livingstone—was the instrument in God's hands for the opening of the tropical regions of the great continent to the wonder and enrichment of the world.[1] His journeys began about 1850 and closed with his death in 1873. He disclosed, to the astonishment of men, the comparatively large populations of the interior, and the struggles of a people whom the slave-trade and inter-tribal warfare were surely garrotting. His lonely death at Chitambo's village seemed to close in failure a life of rare devotion. The Arabs still engaged in slave-raiding; the strong, warlike tribes still overwhelmed the weaker. But that life which ended under so dark a cloud was rich in immediate results for Africa. With the 'seventies, following close on his death, there came out from Europe and America a great succession of missionary, exploratory and governmental services. For Livingstone's appeal was as wide as the interests of human life. His call, 'I beg to direct your attention to Africa,' awoke response in many diverse quarters. He summoned men to heal the open sores of Africa, and Governments answered by seeking to establish protectorates over the war-ridden peoples. He pointed to the need of commercial development to displace the economically disastrous and morally indefensible traffic in flesh and blood—to lift the Africans into progressive and honourable industry. Many a great trading enterprise responded to his call. He revealed people where the civilized nations thought only to find deserts and wild beasts; and branches of the Christian Church vied with one another in seeking to be true to the trusteeship of the Gospel.

With the passing of the years the forces making for a New Africa increased their momentum. Almost entirely the continent was partitioned among the Powers of Europe. The process had begun in a tentative and halting manner in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It became a scramble after the epoch-making Brussels Conference of 1876. Within fifteen years of that date Africa had become little more than a political appendage to Europe. Annexation and adjustment of boundaries have proceeded until in 1926, out of a total area of 11,659,000 square miles, only 350,000 are free from foreign domination.

Railways began to push from the coast into the interior, until to-day at least 35,000 miles of line are working. Almost every controlling Power has its programme of new construction, and within

[1] I take this paragraph from Dr Donald Fraser's presidential address at Le Zoute.

the next twenty-five years the present mileage will possibly be doubled. With the dawning of the motor age great roads were driven through forest and over plain to enable the automobile to supplement the steam-engine.

The discovery of precious minerals—diamonds and gold and copper, and many others—and the development of great plantations brought western capital to Africa in ever-increasing amount. The discovery of comparatively healthy areas attracted virile colonists ; towns and farms began to appear in the haunts of the lion and the elephant. Immense stretches of land were, in one way or another, acquired ; demands were made upon the African population to supply the labour required to cultivate them. The Africans were taught and persuaded to grow crops for exportation, and soon immense supplies of cocoa and cotton and ground-nuts, and a score of other products, came into the markets of the world. It has now become clear that the economic prosperity of Europe (at least) depends upon Africa.

And so the New Africa has come into being.

Africa, a Unity in Diversity

AFRICA is more than a continent ; it is a world. We speak of Europe as a geographical unit, but we are aware that it is peopled by various races and divided into many states, that in language and tradition and religion it is marked by great diversity. One who knew Scandinavia only would certainly be liable to err if he indulged in sweeping generalizations as to European character and culture. Africa is not less but more diversified than Europe. He who knows Egypt does not know Africa. He who knows Nigeria or Cape Colony or Liberia does not know Africa. What formula can embrace the Europeanized Africans of the western littoral, the civilized Muslims of the North Nigerian emirates, the progressive Baganda, the pygmies of the Ituri forest and the Bushmen of the Kalahari ?

There are diversities of race and language and culture. The Libyan peoples of the extreme north are distinctively a white race with dark curly hair. The Eastern Hamites—Egyptians, Abyssinians, Gallas—are a brown people with fuzzy hair. The Negroes are divided primarily into two sections, the Sudanese stretching from the Nile across to the Atlantic, and the Bantu from south of the Sudan to Kaffraria. Each section is subdivided into numerous

tribes, differing considerably in physical characteristics and customs. One is apt to think of all these dark-skinned peoples as a unit, and M. Delafosse is probably right in claiming that there is a distinct Negro-African civilization, but the details of their social organization present a bewildering diversity. Some are pastoral, some are agricultural, others are both. The strong kingdoms of Ashanti, Buganda and Burotse form a striking contrast to the loose congeries of village communities found elsewhere. The languages of Hamites, Sudanese and Bantu belong to distinct families of speech. At least two hundred Sudanic tongues are known, and three hundred Bantu, the latter differing from each other as much as the Latin languages differ among themselves.

These peoples live in lands which vary in altitude, fertility and climate. The coast belt of West Africa, where the sombre mangrove, springing from black mud, is the fitting symbol of all that is darkest and most terrible in West African beliefs, is as different a country as one can imagine from the mountainous and treeless Basutoland. There are regions which the European cannot hope, under present conditions, to colonize ; and others where it has been proved possible for him to rear progeny at least as vigorous as the folk at home.

The invasion of Africa by Europe has emphasized some diversities and created others. The ethnical characteristics of Britons, French, Portuguese and Belgians are leaving their mark on the territories they occupy. Northern Europeans seem to have a colour prejudice from which others are free, and this cannot but make a difference both in their administrative policy and in their social behaviour towards the Africans. In the French army Africans and Frenchmen serve in the ranks together ; in South Africa, Europeans and Africans may not mingle in railway compartments or on the street walks.[1]

In many parts of Africa the advent of western civilization has created a cultural cleavage. In Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Southern Nigeria, for example, exist communities of Europeanized Negroes, many of whom have taken degrees at Oxford and Cam-

[1] Mr Ormsby-Gore in his report on his visit to West Africa, 1926, puts it in this way : 'The Englishman has naturally an instinctive dislike of " assimilation." We like to keep our life distinct from that of other races, whether European or not. The more another people acquire our culture, our outlook and our social habits, very often the wider becomes the gulf between us. . . . In these matters we are apparently by nature the exact opposite of the French. The French have no doubt that the more French they can make French Africa in language, sentiment, custom and outlook, the better.'

bridge and London ; they practise as doctors and lawyers ; they no longer own any allegiance to their ancestral African authorities, and are adopting western habits of life. Members of this class sit with Europeans in the Legislative Council. And in the same land are found barbarians who are (or were until recently) cannibals and still practise witchcraft.

It is not irrelevant to dwell on these striking diversities. Time and again in the Le Zoute Conference members were baffled by the complexity of the problems which were presented to them. A statement would be made and followed by another in exactly the opposite sense. It was bewildering until one realized that both were right, only one speaker came from the Gold Coast and the other from the Transvaal. Land questions, labour questions, education questions, inevitably wear a different complexion amid such varied conditions. Where land has been extensively occupied by Europeans who need labourers, problems are presented that differ from those arising in a land where the Africans cultivate their own lands. Where the controlling Power insists that all instruction must be given in its national tongue, a position is created very different from that where the use and study of the vernacular are encouraged. What educational curriculum can be framed that will answer the needs of peoples so diverse as the Americo-Liberians and the village children of central Congoland ?

Yet, while fully recognizing the diversities, we claim to speak of Africa and Africans as we speak of Europe and Europeans. Geographically the continent is a unit. Historically, it is true, North Africa from Egypt to Morocco has been more in touch with Europe and Asia than with Africa south of the Sudan. But modern developments are bringing north and south into closer connexion. Railways and aircraft are linking them together. Islam, it is certain, does not distinguish in planning its campaigns. Its missionaries, its literature, travel from Cairo to the Cape. Underlying all the divergence that marks the pagan Negro tribes, there is a fundamental unity of belief and outlook upon the world. This Negro culture has permeated the Libyan peoples of the north. Racial intermixture has gone on for centuries, so that whether in physical structure or in mentality, it is impossible to say where Negro begins and Libyan ends.

Africa is a unity—a unity in diversity. Nothing is lost, and much is gained, by trying to look at the New Africa as a whole.

CHAPTER II

RETROSPECT

THE Christian Church has at times failed in her duty towards Africa—has never, indeed, wholly fulfilled her duty—but from almost the earliest period of her history the Church has never been absent from Africa. Christian communities existed in Africa long before they were found in the British Isles and Northern Europe—centuries before they existed in America. The Church of the northern littoral, which at one time numbered six hundred bishops, was swept away by the advancing tide of Islam, but in Egypt and Abyssinia the Church has resisted all attempts to overwhelm it.

When Europe first came into touch with Africa south of the Sahara by the highway of the open sea, governments professed zeal for the spread of the Christian religion.[1] Dom Henrique, Iffante of Portugal, sent forth his navigators to plant the Cross on every headland. A clause in the charter of the Dutch East India Company impressed on the factors of the settlement on Table Bay the duty of instructing the children of Natives so that 'the name of Christ might be extended.' The methods of this early evangelism astonish us in some respects. We see in Dom Henrique the last flicker of the old crusading spirit that is so alien from our thoughts to-day. He was not a mere slave-trader, but he was a slave-trader. The capture of slaves on the African coast was intended to subserve the conversion of African territories into Christian dependencies of Portugal to be administered by a military order. The early Dutch settlers at the Cape saw nothing incongruous in teaching the Gospel to slaves. The first governor, Van Riebeek, gave instructions that 'to stimulate the slaves to attention while at school and to induce them to learn the Christian prayers, they should be promised a glass of brandy and two inches of tobacco.' Wrong-headed as these methods appear to us to-day they bear witness at least to a desire to spread the Christian religion.

Full credit must be given to the Roman Church for her missionary zeal. As early as 1491 a band of Portuguese priests landed in

[1] Some sentences in this and the following paragraphs are taken from Dr Donald Fraser's presidential address at Le Zoute.

Angola and before long were able to report that the whole kingdom of the Congo was entirely Catholic. In 1560 that most earnest evangelist, Father Gonzalo da Silviera, reported, seven weeks after reaching Sofala, that all the subjects of the kingdom had become Christians. But both in West and East Africa these early missions made very little permanent impression upon the people.[1]

In the eighteenth century (1751) an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. Thomas Thompson, went out on a lonely and heroic mission to the Gold Coast. He is remembered chiefly by the title of his pamphlet published in 1772 : *The African Trade for Negro Slaves shown to be consistent with the principles of humanity and with the laws of revealed religion.* As this blast came from the only man in Europe who had given years of his life for the redemption of Africa we cannot wonder at the condonement of slavery by ordinary Christians in the eighteenth century.

The Nineteenth Century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the only accredited representative of the Evangel in West Africa was Philip Quaque, an African clergyman who was one of the fruits of Mr Thompson's mission. On the East Coast and throughout the heart of Africa not a single missionary was to be found. The Moravian Schmidt had been deported from South Africa in 1743 after six years of work among the Hottentots. It was inconvenient in those days for a man to convert the heathen and to give them disturbing notions—though it must be said that at such places as Paarl and Stellenbosch coloured converts were received into full membership of the Dutch Church. In 1792 three more Moravians arrived, and then came Van der Kemp and Kicherer and their companions of the London Missionary Society. These men were the only European missionaries in the whole continent of Africa when the nineteenth century opened.[2]

Then came a rebirth of missionary zeal in both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic communions. While Europe openly and legally profited by the inhumanity of the slave-trade she could scarcely be expected to spend herself in humanitarian and religious service for the peoples whom she exploited. When fresh religious conceptions prevailed the liberated Christian spirit flowed over in a great effort to repair the errors of the past and to bring new life to Africa.

[1] Dr Fraser thinks that one relic of their teaching may be found in the lovely canoe songs of the Zambezi where the Natives sing, ' We have no mother but Mary.'

[2] Protestants, certainly. There may have been some Roman Catholic missionaries in the North and West—I have not been able to find out.

This is not the place to tell the story—surely one of the most remarkable stories on record. All branches of the Church in Europe and America have vied in holy rivalry (sometimes, it must be confessed, in a rivalry not so holy) to spread the Christian faith. In days when the interior of Africa was still unexplored, when ordered government had not been introduced, when the laws of health in the tropics were not understood, men and women of heroic mould braved discomfort, disease and death, and willingly paid the heavy price. Germans, French, British, Americans, Norwegians, Swedes, Danes, Swiss, Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Finns—all have taken a share in the enterprise.

The point that this rapid historical sketch is intended to emphasize is that Christian missions in Africa are comparatively young. In any effective sense they are not more than a century old—many of them are, indeed, not more than fifty years of age.

The Present Position. Can we estimate in any measure what has already been accomplished? Numbers are an inconsiderable circumstance, said John Wesley, and what the Church has done during this pioneer period cannot be expressed in statistics. Yet, without giving them undue significance and certainly in no spirit of complacence, we may quote here some figures taken from the latest edition of *The World Missionary Atlas*, if only to register the slight advance that has been made.[1] Let it be remembered that Africa contains 130,000,000 people.

Total foreign staff of the Protestant missionary societies	6,289
Total Native staff	43,181
Including 2021 ordained men, 38,126 unordained, and 2656 women.	
Christian community	2,629,437
Including communicants, 1,015,683; baptized non-communicants, 812,723; and others under instruction, 721,421.	
Total number of schools	17,027
Total number of pupils and students	926,793
Hospitals, 116, with 3235 beds; dispensaries, 366; physicians, 139; nurses, 235.	
Orphanages, 81; inmates, 1921. Leper asylums, 6; inmates, 1946.	

[1] Some discrepancies will be noticed in the totals, but we quote the figures as given.

The *Little Atlas of Catholic Missions*, published by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, reports that Latin Catholics in Africa approximate to three million, about 375,000 of these having been born outside the continent. 'In 1923, 817,741 were reported as under instruction in African missions.' Foreign priests, 2624; Native priests, 145; Brothers, 1598; Sisters, 6503; Catechists, 26,311. No educational statistics are given.

During the last hundred years the Christian Church may be said to have served her apprenticeship in Africa. Looking back over this period, our gratitude for what God has wrought through the Church must be mingled with sorrow that we have not proved more efficient instruments in His hands.

Success and Failure. This dual feeling found expression in Dr Donald Fraser's presidential address at the Le Zoute Conference. He said:

I know that mistakes have been made, that all have not been disinterested, and that the best results have not been obtained because of defective methods and imperfect agents. Yet what Africa has gained through missionaries' service in the past is the promise that with courage and wisdom we shall do better in the future.

We may be humbled that so little literature is yet produced, and that the large reading public who have arisen through our schools have so little to feed their intelligence and faith. But it should not be forgotten that already 244 African languages have been reduced to written form, and that in them the Bible, or part of the Bible, has been translated.

Our schools may often not have put the proper emphasis on social and sanitary teaching. But to a people devoid of education, thousands of schools have been given, and into these hundreds of thousands of pupils have been gathered. With the teaching of our faith, health of body, of mind, of social fellowship, has in some measure been inculcated. These schools have been the greatest evangelistic agency of the Church.

Many of us may not have planned in our industrial work methods for developing an independent and progressive community; but thousands of men have been trained in intelligent industry which has made life possible for the pioneers of commerce and helped the African to serve with the European for the advancement of a continent.

As we face questions of land rights, of giving the people some share in governing themselves, we should remember that throughout a century and more the missionary has always stood as the African's friend. He has won privileges for the African, has beaten back oppressive legislation, trained him into self-reliance, prepared him not only to claim but to bear responsibility; and all this sometimes in face of hatred and obloquy

from men of his own race, who have too often ostracized him for his defence of the black peoples.

The early missionaries may have understood less than we do of Native religion and tradition, and may have adopted less sympathetic attitudes towards what was good and worth preserving in the old customs, but they had a great faith in Jesus Christ and the Gospel they preached. And after all, the biggest asset the evangelist can have is not his knowledge of the psychology of the people, but his knowledge of God whom he has come to reveal.

The foundation of the Africa that is to be is laid in good men and women. Character must be the rock on which the city is built. External and material things, though they help to mould character, are not its creative power. The faith of Jesus Christ, obedience to Him and the power that fellowship with Him gives—it is these that will transform Africa and make her new and beautiful and fit to take her place at the table of the great peoples of the world.

This is our faith. And now with this faith in our hearts we must face the facts. We ought no longer to think of Africa in the terms of Moffat and Livingstone, of Mackay and Steere and Grenfell, but in the terms of to-day. We cannot be content to live in the past, with its triumphs and failures. New conditions prevail and these must be taken into account in all our planning for the future.

CHAPTER III

FACING THE FACTS

Favourable Factors in the New Situation

LET us review some of the facts as they affect the missionary work of the Church.

Railways, Roads, Steamers. We may put in the forefront the obvious advantages offered by the railways and motor-roads which have been driven far into the continent and by the steamers which run on the great rivers and lakes. Something is to be said on the other side, but, consciously or unconsciously, the financiers and contractors have built highways for the Gospel. Missionary literature teems with descriptions of the tedious and dangerous journeys made by the pioneers on foot and in ox-waggons. In 1820 Robert and Mary Moffat trekked from Cape Town to their station in Bechuanaland, and it took them sixty days to cover a distance which now, by means of train and motor-car, can be covered in three days. Mr and Mrs Coillard were three years on the road from Basutoland to Barotseland —a delay not wholly due, however, to the slowness of the oxen. Think again of the long journey to Uganda in the good old days—of the six months' march with a caravan of porters, interrupted by frequent desertions and sickness, of the incessant and exorbitant demands for toll. A more vexatious mode of travelling (under the old conditions, certainly) was never devised by wit of man. If the railways had done no more than in some measure relieve the Africans of this heavy, cruel porterage they would earn the thanks of humanity.

Where no railway or motor-car is available missionaries have still to travel by primitive methods ; but many of them are whirled in security and comparative comfort to their destinations, or within easy reach of them. John Ruskin used to say : 'All travelling becomes dull in exact proportion to its rapidity,' and no doubt some of the old romance has departed when we are carried like parcels, but how much is gained by celerity ! Mr Ormsby Gore tells that in Northern Nigeria porterage costs from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per ton mile ; motor transport, 1s. per ton mile ; animal transport, 9d. per ton

mile ; while the railway is carrying cotton and groundnuts at approximately 1½d. per ton mile. What a saving to the mission exchequers is represented by such figures !

Improved Health Conditions. The advance in tropical medicine and hygiene is of incalculable advantage to the Church in Africa. One wonders how a white man lived in some parts of Africa during the years of our ignorance, when nobody associated mosquitoes with malaria. The journals of many of the early missionaries are a record of daily fevers, of deaths and burials. Tropical Africa has not become a health resort. But conditions have so improved that in Nyasaland, for instance, men are living who have not had a touch of fever for twenty years. A missionary who was at Le Zoute had recently returned after ten years of travel and residence in unhealthy regions and the doctor had pronounced him absolutely free from germs of disease. We scarcely realize, and are not sufficiently grateful for, the successes of scientific research in the realms of disease.

Established Government. Ordered European government in Africa is a boon to be thankful for. In these days we are liable to forget that the old Africa was the scene of abominable cruelties—it is hardly an exaggeration to say that it ran with blood. Europeans have often dealt hardly with the Natives, but the inhumanity of Africans to Africans is equally great, or greater. The early efforts of missionaries were often impeded by inter-tribal warfare. The pioneers were compelled to witness scenes of bloodshed against which their protests were for long ineffectual. We are aware that the motives and methods of European Governments have not always been beyond reproach. We do not pretend to be oblivious of the very unsatisfactory administration still to be found in some quarters. But this and much more is true : over a very large portion of the continent human life is safe as it never was safe in days gone by. We give thanks for the law and order which permit our work to be done in quietness and security.

Commerce and Industry. We may view with mixed feelings the commercial and industrial enterprises which are spreading over Africa. That these have, in some ways, complicated the problem cannot be denied ; but here let us frankly recognize that trade and industry have their part to play in raising the African and that they have already made their contribution towards that end. Christian communities must be composed of industrious citizens, able to pay their way in Church and State and gradually attaining a

higher standard of life, with better houses and more varied, more abundant food. Danger is attached to wealth rapidly acquired without a corresponding sense of responsibility, but some wealth the people must have if their condition is to be improved. The ordinary African community is desperately poor, lives from hand to mouth and is constantly on the verge of starvation. The trade and industries which are developing so rapidly provide opportunities for remunerative toil. They do more. Principal Moton of Tuskegee, whose parents were slaves, confesses that the manual labour he performed in his youth was a valuable part of the education that has made him the man he is. Dr John Hope, President of the Morehouse College in Atlanta, said the same at Le Zoute.

In Africa to-day thousands of men are being stimulated to progressive labour which is reacting on their whole social environment—are learning, at the mines and on plantations, new lessons of discipline and new skill in the use of their hands. The vigour that was once expended on war and other unprofitable exercises is now devoted to raising crops for exportation or in earning wages. And therefore, while we deplore many of the evils which accompany industrialization and must do our best to secure improved conditions of labour for the Africans, we need not hesitate to place trade and industry here among, at least the potentially, favourable factors.

New Sense of the African's Value. Our forefathers knew the African's value as a good workman—' to work like a nigger ' passed into a proverb. Many people still think he is fit for nothing but manual and menial labour, but they are fewer than they were. Many, in these later years especially, have ungrudgingly acknowledged his worth as a soldier. More than ever, he is regarded as valuable in himself—as a man. From the sedulous studies of anthropologists (and many missionaries are included in their ranks) has emerged the fact that there exists a distinct Negro-African culture which, while different from, and in many respects inferior to, our own, has its own value. We know now that the Africans are artistic and musical by nature ; that their social sense is very highly developed ; that they are deeply religious ; that among their languages are to be found some of the most wonderful instruments of speech that the world knows. A century of educators has proved that the old superstition of the unimprovability of the African has no basis in fact.

This new sense of the value of the African is acknowledged in

many ways. It is seen even in the desperate attempts made in some quarters to keep him from competition with white men in craftsmanship. It is seen in the increasing importance given to him as a consumer as well as a producer. It is seen in the doubts which have grown in the minds of administrators as to the desirability of imposing European institutions on Africans instead of developing their own; and in the consequent increasing degree to which local affairs are being entrusted to Native Councils. It has led missionaries to reconsider the presentation of Christianity, for it is now recognized more than before that the Africans have been prepared by previous experience for the reception of the Gospel and that their experience contains elements of high religious value. It is seen, lastly, in the province of education. As Sir Frederick Lugard said at Le Zoute: 'It is recognized that education must be a process of evolution based on African modes of thought, tradition and environment, and not an attempt to substitute a European mind for an African mind.'[1] Hand, mind, heart and soul, the African is worth something, is worthy of our best endeavours to improve him: that is the view of him which is now in the ascendant.

Awakening of Conscience. There has come with better knowledge a great awakening of conscience in regard to the African. The days when Christian Governments could favour and participate in the open merchandizing of Africans have gone—irrevocably gone. The new spirit finds its fitting symbol and instrument in Article No. 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. This enunciates the principle that the well-being and development of peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world form a sacred trust of civilization. 'International recognition of this principle of trusteeship,' said Sir Frederick Lugard at Le Zoute, 'marks a stage in the progress of Africa, and not less in the evolution of the standards of thought of the civilized nations, comparable only to the awakening of the conscience of civilization which a hundred years ago led to the suppression of the export of Negroes seized by force for slaves in the New World.'[2] A standard has been set up, and to it all European Powers in Africa are bound, sooner or later, to conform.

This principle, which imposes upon the trustee a moral duty and a moral attitude, is not only embodied in a document but is being carried into practice in many territories. There is a definite attempt

[1] See his paper, p. 151.

[2] See his paper, p. 150.

at influencing the moral and social evolution of the African peoples. A vast educative policy is, in fact, being worked out for the purpose of preserving and developing the character and initiative of the Africans and of enabling them to absorb elements of higher culture without becoming denationalized. What is savage and inhumane is being abolished, and what is good in indigenous custom is being retained and upheld.[1]

Labour—Drink—Medical Assistance. The enlightenment of conscience is seen in other directions.

(*a*) Sir Frederick Lugard notes as an example of the 'substantial progress made in Africa' the universal reprobation of forced and compulsory labour for private profit and the notable advance in the conditions of wage-labour contained in the ordinances of all the African dependencies. 'I do not say,' he continues, 'that there are no exceptions in *practice*, but it is a long step forward to have made these practices illegal.'

At its autumnal session, 1926, the Assembly of the League of Nations adopted a new Slavery Convention, and over twenty Powers signed it at once. The signatories bound themselves to prevent and suppress the slave-trade and to bring about, as soon as possible, the complete abolition of slavery in all its forms. Moreover, recognizing that forced labour may have grave consequences, they agreed to take all necessary steps to prevent it from developing into conditions analogous to slavery.

That in spite of such agreements much goes on that is unjust and unwise is only too evident. To have got so far, however, is something. It is also an immense gain that instructed public opinion waxes indignant and vociferous when injustice is brought to light. The public conscience has grown tender about the treatment of subject races.

(*b*) Another advance is seen in the more stringent regulation of the Drink Traffic in Africa—that enormous and shameless trade which is second only to the slave-trade in its evil effects. The signature of the Convention of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, in September 1919, registered a distinct step. In 1913 over 6,000,000 gallons of spirits were imported into British West Africa; in 1920 the figure dropped to 508,000. In 1925 it rose to 1,495,000, but while this

[1] See, for example, the Report to the Council of the League of Nations on the administration of the British Cameroons, 1925. I borrow two or three sentences from p. 8.

increase is very regrettable the importation is much less than it used to be.

(*c*) The advance in providing medical assistance to the Africans is very notable. In this respect Belgium leads the way,[1] but other nations are following her closely.

Increased Interest in Education. This is the most remarkable perhaps of all recent events. Some of the Governments, notably the British, are throwing themselves into this with real enthusiasm. The visits of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions left a very deep impression —and not least upon the European settlers. At one time very few colonists looked with favourable eyes upon attempts to educate the Africans. How far this was due to a contempt for the Native, indifference to his spiritual progress, or fear of his competition, and how far it was due to a dislike of the defective methods of the schools, we need not now enquire. What concerns us is that there are signs of a change. The unofficial conference of East African settlers in 1925, for example, recognized by resolution ' that it is the duty of the Governments to provide greater and increasing facilities for the education of Natives,' and asked for the consideration of some such scheme as that recommended by the Phelps-Stokes Commission or that adopted by the Nyasaland missions. Furthermore, settlers in Kenya are opening schools on their own plantations. And perhaps the most hopeful feature is the general agreement that character training is the true objective of the schools.

New Attitude towards Missions. The attitude towards Christian missions and missionaries has changed. Individuals may still be found who think missions ' an irrelevant hobby ' and whose only idea of missionaries is that ' they teach the Natives to read and write and make them believe they are as good as anyone else.' Thinking men, however, who are impressed by the depth and complexity of the problem see more and more clearly that the missionary carries the key to its solution. It is no uncommon thing to read such statements as the following in official reports :

> It is to the spread of Christian principles and to education, above all other agencies, that the Administration looks for the solution of the multifarious problems of the Cameroons province.
>
> The utmost vigilance is maintained and no opportunity has been lost to impress on the people that any person convicted of cannibalism will suffer the extreme penalty. But the surest road to the elimination of

[1] See Dr Broden's paper, p. 142–6.

such customs as cannibalism and witchcraft is the dissemination of missionary teaching. . . . The law may severely punish any outward manifestations of these evil practices, but it takes education and a change of heart wholly to eradicate them.

So further in reference to an objectionable juju society :

Christianity not merely condemns like the law, but replaces with purer beliefs the power and influence of all the juju societies, harmful and harmless alike, and it is only a matter of time for them to disappear.[1]

To the magistrate, said the cynical Gibbon, all religions are equally useful ; and we have long been familiar with the official view that missionaries are to be encouraged in their quality of moral policemen. But in proportion as administrators are concerned for the moral advancement of the people, a new note has been struck. And not only by administrators. ' Of all the forces which are at work to assist in the evolution of the Bantu towards a higher and broader life,' writes a South African university professor, ' the Christian religion is the greatest.' [2]

Changes in Missionary Methods and Attitudes. Lastly, among the favourable factors in the new situation, let us note a change in the missionaries. Dr Jesse Jones said at Le Zoute :

With genuine appreciation of missionary endeavours in the past, we can confidently assert that recent years have witnessed striking improvements in methods and attitudes. The reality of spiritual power and willingness to sacrifice continue to remain, but a new and richer meaning is now given to the message which they carry.

Among the improved attitudes, Dr Jones includes : (1) a clearer understanding and appreciation of African capacity and customs. There is less pity and more of respect for the African and his past—greater willingness to work *with* rather than *for* the people. (2) A wider conception of the Gospel. Services formerly rendered merely as incidents of the missionary programme are now regarded as central and vital. To give life and to give it abundantly is now more truly than ever the desire of every missionary who really understands the command of Christ. (3) As a natural and inevitable consequence of these two attitudes there follows a third, namely :

The determination to co-operate with God's children wherever they are, whatever their colour and language, whatever their form of

[1] I take these extracts from the latest report that has come into my hands—the Report on the Cameroons already quoted from on p. 17.

[2] E. H. Brookes : *History of Native Policy in South Africa* (1924), p. 6.

service, so long as the service is rendered in the spirit of Christian love. In this determination we have the harbinger of a new day, the promise of a unity that guarantees the coming of the Kingdom of God in Africa.[1]

All these things are in favour of the Christian Mission in Africa. They create conditions and an atmosphere in which it is easier for missionaries to carry on their work. But there is another side. If we are to estimate rightly the present position in Africa we must face with open eyes the factors that complicate and hinder our work.

Adverse Factors in the New Situation

AFRICA is as full of problems as an egg is full of meat. Were there no other white men in Africa, the missionaries would be still confronted with the problem of reaching and winning the people. If the Blacks were exterminated, the problem of developing the rich resources of the continent would still face the world. It is because the Blacks are there and the Whites have come in that the position is made so complex and serious. At present only two extensive areas have been occupied to any large degree by Europeans : (1) Algeria, Tunis and Morocco, where over a million Whites live with over 12,000,000 Africans ; and (2) South Africa, which contains 1,575,000 Europeans and over 7,000,000 Africans. In West Africa there is little or no colonization, but Europeans have opened mines and established plantations in some regions. In East Africa, stretching from Kenya to the Zambezi, large areas are suitable for Europeans by reason of their altitude and healthiness ; some of these, such as the Kenya highlands, are already occupied, and settlement in others is to be officially encouraged. To whatever degree the white man has arrived, he *has* arrived. His presence brings many benefits to the African, but also creates problems of great difficulty. It is useless to wish it otherwise : the only course is to seek for ways of reconciling the interests of the two races which now have to live together. The problem is further complicated by the birth of a new people, neither white nor black ; and by the influx of Indians—a subject too large to be treated here.

Land, Labour, Population. These questions are set out partly in the Special Africa Number [2] of *The International Review of Missions*. Problems of the land, and associated questions of labour, will be further discussed in Chapter IX. They are mentioned here

[1] See his paper, p. 133. [2] For July 1926. For table of contents, see p. 189.

among the adverse factors because of the resentment that injustice causes in the minds of Africans and because of the consequent enmity of Blacks against Whites and Whites against Blacks, which makes difficult the co-operation of the two races that is essential for the fulfilment of the Christian Mission.

A few words must be said about population. Rash statements are to be deprecated, and they will not be found in Mr Oldham's article, which should be carefully studied in this connexion.[1] It cannot be maintained that everywhere the Africans have decreased in numbers through contact with European civilization. The population of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has possibly doubled since the re-conquest. In British West Africa it seems to be increasing slowly. But Mr Oldham is justified in saying: 'Not only is the population of Central Africa sparse, but there are grounds for thinking that it is declining.' Some of the factors which contributed in the past to a low density of population have largely or entirely ceased to operate: inter-tribal warfare, for example, human sacrifices and the smelling-out of witches. Other factors still operate despite efforts to lessen their incidence: disease, ignorance of the laws of health, and such practices as abortion and infanticide. On the other hand, evidence seems to show that the European invasion has contributed to depopulation. It has introduced new diseases and made possible the spread of endemic diseases. Labour conditions—the fatigues involved in long marches (600 or 700 miles in some cases) to and from the place of employment, and consequent liability to disease; the absence of males from their homes for long periods; the cooping-up of people in noisome slums—are too often inimical to health and growth in population. While the men are away from home, their families are exposed to demoralization: the women cannot repair or build huts, new fields cannot be prepared, insufficient food is grown. One is not surprised to learn that some African women refuse to bear children to be (as they put it) the white man's slaves; nor that in some quarters the social upheaval has produced a listlessness, a lack of will to live, which with fatigue and malnutrition renders the people an easy prey to disease. We are paying—or rather the Africans are paying—a heavy price for the development of the resources of Africa.

As a result of European influence largely, African society is in process of disintegration over large areas.[2]

[1] On 'Population and Health in Africa,' *op. cit.*, pp. 402–17.

[2] See pp. 410–12.

We have traced the progress made towards enlightened ideas and more liberal policies. But it would be folly to ignore the fact that not all white men, and not all Governments, have reached these levels. The embodiment of high ideals in a charter does not mean that they have already become accomplished facts. Sufficient of the old views remain to warn us to stand vigilant.

We have said enough to show how complicated the task of the Christian Mission has become in Africa.

Changes in the Africans

THE changes that have been wrought in the Africans are in part favourable to the Christian Mission and in part adverse. For the sake of emphasis I bring them together in this section.

The growth of the African Church is the most notable fact of the new situation. The Church is still immature, being composed largely of Christians of the first and second generations. Young as it is, it counts its saints and martyrs. It will grow in numbers, in depth of character, in breadth of intelligence. It is almost entirely a literate community. Here in the hands of God, and largely in our own, lies a powerful instrument for the regeneration of Africa. It is unfortunately weakened by being divided into so many denominations.

Around this inner core of men and women whose hearts have been changed there is a wider fringe consisting of those who have received a slight tincture of education—who bear the brand of civilization rather than of Christianity. They have acquired a thin veneer of western culture, its clothing more than its spirit. They are a problem in themselves.

To say that ' we are to-day confronted by a living, eager, expectant Africa ' is to generalize without warrant. Unquestionably, thousands have thrown off the old stagnancy of mind and are reaching out after new things. But millions are as yet scarcely touched, are sunk in the barbarism of their fathers and are content with it.

Two distinct trends are apparent among the more educated Africans. One section have thrown overboard the past of their race and are ambitious only to imitate the Whites. They are imbued with the conviction that everything African is contemptible. Many of this class suffer from what psychologists call ' an inferiority complex '—an ugly name for a very real thing. They become self-

assertive and are apt to lose the natural dignity and fine courtesy of their race. It is among these that the small band of rebels is found who adopt the slogan, 'Africa for the Africans.' Other equally educated Africans begin to ask themselves whether there was not, after all, much that was valuable in the past. A resentment grows up in their minds against the white men who have turned their race from its natural course of evolution.

Whichever trend they follow, these educated men, and thousands of half-educated men, and men of no education at all, are thinking. They reflect upon the injustice done to their people. One question they ask insistently: 'Why do not these white men put into practice the religion they profess to be so good for us.' If Rodin's statue 'Le Penseur' were executed in black marble it would well represent the attitude of thousands of reflective Africans.

IN his opening address to the Conference of East African Governors held at Nairobi early in 1926, Sir Edward Grigg said: 'We are dealing in these territories with what is perhaps the hardest political, economic and moral problem now confronting the civilized governments of the world. I refer to the vast range of questions born of the quickening of Africa by the touch of European progress.'

The problem is not one of British East Africa alone, but of all Africa. It confronts not the civilized Governments only; it confronts the Church of Christ.

The situation was well summed up at Le Zoute by Dr Julius Richter, the eminent German professor who has given a lifetime to a study of African questions.

When Henry Drummond a generation ago paid a holiday visit to Nyasaland, he told us that the new world, then slowly creeping into the interior of Africa, was as incomprehensible to the Negro as a meteor from the blue sky. At present a gigantic maelstrom is rushing the Africans off their feet and thrusting them into new conditions with an uncertain future. The situation is unique from an historical as well as from a contemporary point of view. The history of the Christian Church knows of no period and of no group of peoples whose transformation from prehistoric unconsciousness into the full swing of active participation in the great movements of the world has been so overwhelming as at present in the greater part of interior Africa. Countries like India and China have at least the large retarding factors of a brilliant history, an agelong culture, a highly developed religious and philosophical life. Africa has almost nothing comparable to these factors to resist the vehement inrush of the

modern world. The work of modern missions in Africa must be done on a rapidly changing background ; the building of the Church must be done on ground shaken permanently by spiritual earthquakes. We must add that missionary work in Africa must be done against a threefold front : the rude paganism of the passing age, the Islam which is a most active and restless competitor over large parts of the continent, and the modern civilization which is transforming almost every phase of Native life. What, then, in this critical age of remodelling a continent three times as large as Europe, is our task and our aim ?

It is a human problem, and since nothing that affects mankind can be alien to the followers of the Son of Man, the problem of Africa comes within the ambit of our religion. Christian men must face the facts, think out clearly the implications of their faith in regard to them, and make plans accordingly.

This conviction led to the summoning of the Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONFERENCE

IN September 1876, while Henry M. Stanley was on the march from Lake Tanganyika to Nyangwe and had not yet seen the Congo, Leopold, King of the Belgians, summoned a Conference to discuss the exploration and civilization of Africa and the measures to be adopted to extinguish the scourge of the slave trade. Geographers and philanthropists of seven European nations attended the Conference. It was held at Brussels.

It was fitting that fifty years later—in September 1926—a Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa should be held in Belgium. For it was summoned to consider a situation that was largely produced by the movement initiated at Brussels in 1876.

It was found more convenient to hold the Conference at Le Zoute than in Brussels. By the generous assistance of Dr Anet (liaison agent of the Protestant missions of the Congo) and Madame Anet, and of M. Lippens (ex-Governor of the Belgian Congo and founder of the new watering-place), excellent accommodation for the delegates was secured. The wide sea-front, bathed every day in golden sunshine, provided opportunities for exercise and conversation. Much of the informal, and not least important, discussion was carried on while members sipped their coffee outside the hotels. They could see the steamers passing on their way to and from the Congo—a sight that roused home-sickness in the breasts of more than one exile.

The King of the Belgians and the Crown Prince sent gracious messages to the Conference.

The Personnel

IT was a remarkable Conference because of the personnel, the range of subjects discussed, and the spirit of unity that pervaded the whole.

The members numbered 221 in all.[1] They were drawn from

[1] A full list of the delegates and consultative members will be found on p. 180–8.

fourteen countries: Africa, America, Belgium, Brazil, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Holland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland. Almost every African territory was represented. Some members could remember the days when Central Africa was still very largely an unknown land. One at least had met H. M. Stanley on the Congo. Another could tell of crossing, almost dead with fever, from the mainland to Zanzibar in a dhow and of being held up by a British man-of-war's crew on the watch for slavers. There were men who had wrestled with unwritten African languages and had produced the beginnings of a literature. One delegate had crossed Africa no fewer than ten times. Some could speak of Muhammadanism from long and intimate knowledge. There were men and women still engaged in active missionary work, as evangelists, as doctors, as heads of great educational institutions; also missionary secretaries and members of mission boards, some of whom had to their credit long periods of service in Africa, India and other lands. Young and old, African, American, European, were united in their belief in the high destiny of Africa.

Africa, as was right, sent some of her own sons. We may mention Mr N. S. J. Ballanta, who is making a name for himself by his researches in African music; the Rev. N. T. Clerk, Synod clerk of the Scottish Mission in Gold Coast Colony; the Rev. John Dube, founder and principal of the Ohlange Institution in Natal and editor of a newspaper; and the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, President of the National Congress of South Africa. A fine band of Afro-Americans brought experience to bear on the conditions in the land of their forefathers. One of them, Mr Max Yergan, who as secretary of the Y.M.C.A. is working among students in South Africa, impressed the Conference deeply by the sincerity and restraint of his contributions.

From South Africa came also four representatives of the Dutch Reformed Church and one of the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

The missionary societies of the United States sent a group of fifty-eight able and experienced delegates, men and women, who, both in the full Conference and in the sectional meetings, contributed in very considerable degree to the success of the gathering. Some of them were missionaries from Liberia, and these took the opportunity of consulting together in regard to their work in that country.

The great majority of the members were delegates appointed by some seventy missionary societies and other organizations.

In addition to these delegates, forty-three ladies and gentlemen

accepted invitations to attend the Conference as consultative members. Among those who took a prominent part we may name the following. M. Louis Franck, ex-Colonial Minister of Belgium, made one of the speeches that will live longest in the memory of his audience ; Dr Broden, Director of the Brussels School of Tropical Medicine, also delivered a notable address, both printed in this volume. The Conference was honoured by the presence as invited guests, in some cases only for a day or two, of General De Meulemeester, ex-Governor of the Belgian Congo, quoted on pages 160–1 ; the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi and Madame Mazorati ; Monsieur Pierre Orts ; Père Mortier ; Professor Verlaine ; and S. E. Senhor d'Oliviera, the Portuguese Minister at Brussels, whose valuable statement on the attitude of his country to missionaries will be found on page 160. Scientific knowledge, philological and historical, was brought to the help of the Conference by Professor D. Westermann, one of the most eminent authorities on African linguistics and newly appointed Director of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and by Professor Julius Richter of Berlin.

Foremost among the American consultants was Dr T. Jesse Jones, who as leader of the two Phelps-Stokes Commissions to Africa has left a permanent impression on educational policy. Others were Canon Phelps Stokes, President of the Fund that bears the name of his family ; Dr J. H. Dillard, so quietly effective in speech and with a great experience behind him ; Dr E. C. Sage and Mr Jackson Davis, who contributed largely out of their knowledge of education in America ; and Professor R. L. Buell, of Harvard, fresh from his researches into land and labour questions in Africa.

Sir Frederick Lugard, pre-eminent among living Africanists, was the chief figure in the band of British consultants. With him came, as a full member of the Conference, Lady Lugard. The Conference was also honoured by the presence and very effective help of Sir Edward Garraway, former Resident Commissioner, Basutoland ; the Hon. E. B. Denham, Colonial Secretary, Kenya Colony ; Mr Hanns Vischer, Secretary of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa ; Mr W. T. Welsh, Chief Magistrate of the Transkei ; and Dr J. L. Gilks, Director of Medical and Sanitary Service, Kenya. From South Africa came two men who made a decided impression on the Conference : Dr C. T. Loram, an expert in education and one of the Commissioners for Native Affairs in the Union ; and Professor W. M. Macmillan of Witwatersrand University,

who is an acknowledged authority on land questions and will hereafter be known as the rehabilitator of Dr John Philip, the once sorely maligned missionary.

Some of the ladies who, as delegates and consultative members, lent their gracious assistance, were physicians—Mrs Donald Fraser, Miss Catherine Mabie, Miss Louise Pearce of the Rockefeller Institute; others were educationists—Miss Whitelaw, Miss A. M. E. Exley, Mrs Parker Crane; others linguists and literary workers.

The Chairman of the Conference was Dr Donald Fraser, well known for his thirty years of work in Nyasaland. No better chairman could have been selected.

Mr J. H. Oldham's quiet influence, as planner-in-chief, chairman of the business committee, and persuasive speaker, was felt throughout. Working in close collaboration with him was Dr Warnshuis, his colleague.

Never before, perhaps, has such a mass of ripe experience been concentrated for a week upon the consideration of the Christian Mission in Africa.

Provision was made for the use of other languages, but the continental members paid the English-speaking members the fine compliment of addressing the Conference always in English. And remarkably good English they spoke.

Subject and Methods

THE title of the Le Zoute Conference was chosen deliberately: not 'Christian Missions in Africa,' but 'The Christian Mission in Africa.' It was intended to indicate that, not professional missionaries only, but Christian people as a whole, of whatever race, nationality or function, have something to do which bears a significance that is not merely temporal and mundane: they are to be the vehicle and instrument through which the Eternal Spirit may establish the Reign of God in Africa. The Christian Mission encompasses the whole of life. It is not concerned with Native Africans only. The Europeans, Indians and other foreigners come within its sweep; the establishment of right relations between these peoples in Africa is emphatically part of the Christian Mission. It aims at bringing all the interests of life under the dominion of Christ, so that all individual, social and national life may be in harmony with the Will of God. Physical well-being, culture of the mind and soul,

good government, righteous laws, justice between man and man—everything that has to do with men and women comes within the ambit of the Christian Mission.

Religion is not one of many activities ; it embraces the ends of all right endeavour. Our business is to give life a constructive unity. There are diversities of gifts, diversities of functions, but one purpose should animate all. The doctor bringing knowledge and skill to the eradication of disease and promotion of health ; the linguist patiently learning languages and making a literature ; the teacher instructing the young and through the school bringing new conceptions of cleanliness and beauty into the homes ; the administrator building up a new structure of society, checking abuses and punishing wrong-doing ; the trader making his commerce an instrument of righteousness ; the employer of labour using his opportunities, not to make money alone, but for teaching habits of industry, punctuality and self-control ; the preacher and pastor proclaiming the truth of God and training his converts ; all, whether they call themselves ' missionaries ' or not, are missionaries, for they share in the Christian Mission.

The Conference grew out of a suggestion made at a gathering of missionaries and others at High Leigh, in England, in September 1924. Once made, the suggestion took hold rapidly both in Europe and America. Organizing committees were set up. Experts were asked to prepare papers in consultation with workers on the field. Some of these papers were gathered into a special Africa number of *The International Review of Missions* published in July 1926. They should be read in close connexion with this book.[1]

It was impossible to discuss all the relevant subjects. A selection had to be made. Little was said, for example, about the areas as yet unoccupied by missions, of which there are many. The duty of the Church towards European settlers and Indians received scant attention. The problems offered by Islam were inadequately discussed. There was not time for everything. The Conference did well to concentrate upon a few topics.

In the morning sessions the following subjects were presented by chosen speakers and discussed : the task of evangelism ; the education of African peoples ; the African Church and its problems ; co-operation between the races ; Islam in Africa. The evenings were given up mainly to lectures on a century of effort in Africa ;

[1] For table of contents, see p. 189.

the new forces in Africa; American experience in educational and philanthropical effort in the Southern States; the promotion of health; the contact of Europe and Africa; the relations of Christian missions to the new forces that are shaping African life.

During four afternoons the Conference divided into five sections for intensive study of the following subjects: Evangelism and the Church; Chairman—the Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D.; Education; Chairman—Dr C. T. Loram; Languages and Literature; Chairman—Professor D. Westermann; Health and Native Welfare; Chairman—Dr J. H. Dillard; Economic Questions; Chairman—Mr F. H. Hawkins, LL.B.

The discussion in these sectional gatherings probed in large measure to the heart of things.

The Conference culminated in the final meetings on Monday when the various sections brought in their reports and resolutions. These were discussed and, after being referred back in some instances for revision, were adopted. They will be found on pages 108–26.

Some Impressions and Comments

I HAVE before me some notes made by a brilliant writer, Miss Jean Kenyon Mackenzie, for many years a member of the American Presbyterian Mission in the Cameroons, and will quote from them a few of her impressions of the personalities of the Conference. They may help to reproduce something of the atmosphere of this remarkable gathering. Miss Mackenzie speaks of it as 'an extraordinary anticyclone.' The dictionary defines the word as 'a rotatory outward flow of air from atmospheric area of high pressure.' Many of these men and women had experienced violent hurricanes of human passion; some belonged to nationalities that recently were at war; others knew at first hand the bitterness and ignominy of racial animosity. At Le Zoute they were outside the area of high pressure; they dwelt in complete harmony of spirit. Miss Mackenzie asked herself what drew the spirit of fellowship to Le Zoute, and concluded that it was due in large measure to the German and Negro members.

Here are some of Miss Mackenzie's sketches:

There is Monsieur Louis Franck, and as he speaks he is laughing. A feeling for primitive Africa is in all his sayings, an authentic sense of primitive man. . . . There is Father Callaway praying. To many a one

with the memory of Father Callaway praying, Africa will knock at the door of the heart. . . . There is Mr Max Yergan, with his mingled look of youth and of control, and he is holding his peace—speaking of South Africa, he is holding his finely-wrought peace . . . . There is Mr Oldham with his look of saint and man of reason ; he is with simplicity and passion preaching a new mission. . . . There is the dark Welshman, Dr Jesse Jones, chanting those incantations that have awakened sleepers and the very dead. . . . There is Dr Gilks, speaking off his left shoulder, juggling assiduously with a bit of paper and dealing with diets and harvests, with rats, with goats as money and goats as meat, building up out of its component parts the programme of African health, and curiously effective, as a difficult speaker sometimes is. . . . There is the brilliant and erudite Mademoiselle Homburger, suddenly present when her voice, with its indestructible, definite quality, penetrates the male deliberations. . . . There is Monsieur Couve, looking like a Gascon, which perhaps he is, and speaking humbly of humility. . . . There is a beautiful Englishwoman who passionately laments the suffering of African women. . . .

It was strange by that North Sea to be so much in Africa. How many promises were there made to Africa ! How many projects for her health and education, the protection of her rights, both civil and human, the preservation intact and inviolate of her immortal soul ! We must remember these things and the act of faith by which we received the great resolutions put before us. Happy shall we be if we carry them out ! It may be then that Africa will not entreat us to leave her, nor to cease from following after her ; whither she goes we may go and her God shall be ours.

It was inevitable that men and women of such diverse training and experience should differ on many subjects while preserving a fundamental unity of purpose.

It was fascinating to watch the contrasts of thought. Should we in evangelization make our appeal to individuals or seek to bring over entire communities ? ' Individuals,' said one African ; ' communities,' another. . . . ' Essential Christianity is an attitude and a temper,' declared one speaker ; ' but an organized attitude and a disciplined temper,' rejoined a second. . . . How should we combat evil customs ? ' By a flank attack,' answered a missionary of long experience ; ' there is nothing so effective as a direct onslaught,' declared another. . . . ' You can only reach the African's heart through his mother-tongue. Interpreters are a delusion and a snare,' said an expert. ' But,' objected another, ' the most successful evangelist we have had in South Africa did not know a word of the language and spoke through an interpreter ; his converts are with us still.' . . ' Let the African develop his own civilization.' ' But

the presence of the white man makes it impossible.' . . . 'Keep English out of the schools, or at least teach it only to a few in higher classes,' advised one. 'Teach it to all and in the very first stage,' said others. . . .

In any assembly where the affairs of Africa are discussed with largeness of vision, two trends of thought are sure to be manifest. One party approaches them from the European standpoint; the other from the African standpoint. This could be detected at Le Zoute. Mediating influences were at work; extreme views were not unduly pressed; and perhaps the middle position rightly represents the attitude of the Conference. Great stress was laid upon the capabilities of the Africans—it was not necessary to go outside the assembly for proof of their capacity. Strong desires were expressed that Africans should themselves be convinced that as a people they have a distinct place in God's world, that they should be themselves, should develop their natures to the fullest extent as the best gift they can offer humanity, and should not allow their genius, their traditions, their language, to be supplanted by western civilization.

On the other hand it was recognized that the African's future is now bound up with Europe and America. Wish as anyone may to allow the Africans to evolve a higher culture of their own apart from foreign influence, events have made it impossible. Moreover, the lessons of history contradict such desires. Peoples develop in contact with others, not in frigid isolation. To stereotype the African's past is as undesirable as it is impossible. Nobody can arrest his infection, for good or evil, by western civilization. In some distant future the Africans may secure complete independence; may be able to stand alone. At present it is out of the question. They are not the best friends of Africa who desire either that the people should remain unchanged or that they should become pseudo-Europeans. The true friends of Africa wish that the Africans should remain Africans, maintaining a proper pride in their own heritage and resolved to absorb the best that the rest of the world can give them, but not so as to become mere imitators. The Africans possess something that humanity cannot do without. There are Africans who need to be persuaded of this truth. They are sensitive to any suggestion of differentiation, believing that it is intended to repress them. On the contrary, we wish them to be themselves. We do not believe in the substantial inferiority of one people to another.

There are differences of attainment, of gifts, of function, but an essential equality. Our desire is to help the Africans to conserve and develop their characteristic genius for the enrichment of humanity.

At least one African member of the Conference confessed that he had never looked at the matter from this point of view. He determined to go back and get his fellows to see it too.

Some members of the Conference felt disappointed that certain subjects had not been more adequately threshed out—that talk had hovered round and about without piercing deeply to the marrow. This may have been so in some instances. On the other hand, members who have attended scores of Conferences could remember none which did more thorough work. The findings of the Conference embodied in the resolutions really mean something—they are not going to remain merely on paper. Moreover, men and women accustomed to labour in small spheres, and perhaps to think that their local problems are the most important of all, caught sight of Africa as a whole and saw their own problems in relation to the whole. They received new inspiration from a contemplation of the Christian Africa that is to be. Questions were asked, points of view suggested, and men and women will go back to their work with clearer vision of their duty and of the great opportunities that are theirs to-day.

It may be that the African members received more than any others. I asked Mr Dube to give me his impressions.

The Conference has re-created me [he said]. If it had meant going ten thousand miles farther I would willingly have gone. I would have gone to Greenland. I return to Africa with newborn hopes in my heart. I know now as I never knew before what friends Africa has. As I listened to administrators and missionaries talking as they did, I knew that the future of my people is assured. We are passing through a perplexing period in South Africa. What with colour bars and restrictions of one sort or other, the white people are sitting upon us very tightly. But Le Zoute has given me fresh courage. I never knew how many and how difficult African problems are ; but I never knew, on the other hand, that so many men were seeking to understand them and to find a solution. This brings me good cheer. You have faith in us, and we shall win through. Perhaps it is that without oppression people cannot climb. It may be with us as it was with the Israelites. They were in bondage in Egypt—yet they came into the land of promise. We shall come through our struggles a stronger, purer people. That is what Le Zoute has meant to me.

The Devotions

THE Conference began each session with an act of worship, and at noon there was an interval for intercession. It was recognized that these were the most important periods of all. They brought us to the central things. They reminded us that we were not concerned alone with human efforts and failures—that Africa has a place in the purposes of Almighty God. To find His will concerning her, and to be obedient to it, is what matters supremely. As Mr Oldham said, incomparably the most important thing that the Conference could do was not to debate nor to listen to speeches, however able, but to pass beyond the region of the human into a new and living experience of the Divine that comes through prayer. Two of the addresses given will be found in the second part of this volume, but no extracts could convey that intense sense of contact with reality which fell upon members during these devotional periods.

Dr Donald Fraser opened the Conference by saying: 'Let our first word be to God.' Bishop Gwynne closed the final session thus: 'Let us go back to work with purpose ribbed and edged with steel to undertake daring enterprises, knowing that God is with us. Let us go back with deep gratitude in our hearts for all those who have toiled for Africa. Let us dedicate ourselves afresh to His service, to go all out, to give all, for Him. Let us fall into line behind Him.'

I shall cherish longest the memory of what took place on Saturday morning. There had been a discussion on the relation of the races in Africa. A studied restraint marked the speeches, but feelings had run deep. None had attempted to deny the seriousness of the situation. Mr Yergan had spoken in moving terms of the African's willingness to co-operate—of his bigness of heart and generosity of soul, of his patience and capacity of endurance, all of which should make an appeal to the white man's sense of fair-play. When the time came for devotions a stout Zulu—John Dube—stepped forward and announced the hymn: 'Jesus shall reign where'er the sun.' In response to his invitation several members offered prayer. There was silence, and presently it was broken by the voice of John Dube praying in Zulu. Few persons understood the language; those who did speak of the beauty of that prayer. Everybody entered into the spirit of it. It seemed the authentic voice of Africa calling upon

God. Mr Hofmeyr, a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church and member of a family that has given many sons and daughters to the mission field, followed. We wished, some of us, that he had prayed in Dutch. When white men and black men learn to pray together more frequently a better day will have dawned for Africa.

CHAPTER V

PREACHING THE GOSPEL TO AFRICANS

'THE spirit of evangelism should permeate all the services of the missionary and the Church. The primary purpose of all missionary activity is to relate every aspect of African life to the Lord Jesus Christ.'

This declaration, prefixed to 'Suggestions on Evangelism,'[1] expressed the deep conviction of the Le Zoute Conference.

The old conventional notion pictured the missionary dressed in a long black coat, with an umbrella in one hand and a Bible in the other, preaching beneath a palm tree. This was never a true representation, for few missionaries have ever regarded preaching in this way to be their only business. To-day it is less true than ever it was. The missionary knows that the Gospel, which is the Good News of God, concerns the whole man, the whole life of societies and nations, the whole relations of man with the world around him. The Good News is news of God who wills that man's intelligence be trained to understand His universe, that man's soul be made pure to love Him, that man serve Him with a sound mind in a sound body. This Good News is to be brought home to the hearts of men not only through preaching in the ordinary sense of the term, but through all the activities of the school, workshop, farm and dispensary, through the printed page and through daily intercourse. Members of the Conference called for this larger significance to be given to the word 'evangelize.' But they showed no disposition to relegate preaching to a secondary place in their programme. The active proclamation of the Gospel must accompany, and indeed precede, all other activities.

The Capacity of the Africans to become Good Christians. Past and present experience proves beyond all question that Africans have the capacity of becoming good Christians. That people newly won from barbarism should not immediately show all the graces of Christian life need not surprise us. The wonder is that they show so many graces. Every missionary is acquainted with African men

[1] The full text will be found on pp. 108–9.

and women who, judged by any test, are worthy of the name Christian. The African nature is capable of producing a very beautiful type of Christianity. Every missionary knows too that there is an element of mystery in conversion. The reflective gardener wonders when he sees tender blades shoot out of the soil where he planted apparently inert seeds—they spring up and grow, he knoweth not how. In like manner the missionary looks with wonder upon the signs of Christian life emerging in the converts. He is in the presence of a mystery which he cannot fathom. He plants—it is God that giveth the increase. The gardener finds it helpful to know the elements of botany, to study the chemistry of the soil. In the same way psychology is profitable to the missionary. He needs to know the best means of approach to the soul of the African, the aspects of truth that appeal to him most directly, the factors that are decisive in his conversion—dreams, and so forth. But he knows all the time that there is something which eludes his analysis—the workings of the Eternal Spirit upon the human spirit.

Presentation of the Gospel to Civilized Africans

LET us remind ourselves again of the diversity of Africa. There are at least three types of audience that missionaries may be called upon to face: (1) an audience composed entirely of Muslims; (2) an audience composed entirely of pagans who are ignorant of, and untouched by, Christianity; (3) an audience composed largely or entirely of more or less educated Africans who have been, or whose parents have been, under Christian influence for a generation or more.

The greatest of missionaries, St Paul, varied the form of his message to suit his hearers, becoming all things to all men to save some by all and every means. To the Jews he became as a Jew, appealing to their knowledge of the Scriptures; but when he preached to pagan Lycaonians and Greeks, he appealed to their natural religious sentiments, to the witness of nature and, on occasion, to the truth told by their own poets. In the same way, the modern missionary adapts his preaching to the condition of his congregation. One principle applies, however, to all preaching, whatever the audience may be. The missionary must be thoroughly at home in the language of the people and be acquainted with their mentality and manner of life.

The Le Zoute Conference laid great stress upon this fundamental

principle, but had nothing special to say about the presentation of the Gospel to more or less educated and civilized Africans. Reference was made, however, to the serious fact that it is becoming more difficult to convince some members of this class of the truth of Christianity.

The Rev. Z. R. Mahabane spoke as follows of South Africa :

A reaction has taken place in the African's mind through the advance of western civilization. The missionary comes with a message of the love of God and speaks of loving your neighbour as yourself. The people who have followed the missionary have not always practised that love which he preaches. Some of us know that not every white man is a Christian, but the average African looks upon every white man as a Christian, and if he does not lead the Christian life then the mind of the African revolts against Christianity. The black man still believes that Christianity comes from God, so he still clings to it although his mind is in a state of revolt against western Christianity. What we want is a type of missionary who is filled with the love of God and of humanity and shows sympathy with the black man in all his aspirations. The missionary must be thoroughly educated and trained in the psychology of the African.

Mr Max Yergan said much the same :

The test that the Africans I know bring to Christianity as they see it is the social teaching of Jesus. They say, ' What you white men do speaks so loud that we cannot hear what you say.'

It is not only in the south that the African is asking questions. Archdeacon Owen brought a similar note from Kenya :

From the point of view of the African the problem in Africa to-day is the European. He is searching for an expression of Christianity not only in the missionary but in the Christian society to which the missionary belongs. To him essential Christianity lies in the social teaching of Jesus, and he looks to us to do unto others, in all our relations, as we would that they should do unto us.

Presentation of the Gospel to Pagan Africans

WE pass to the aspect of evangelism to which the Conference devoted most attention : How to bring home the message of the Gospel to pagan Africans.

Mrs Hofmeyr, from South Africa, put in a nutshell the whole philosophy of it. She told the Conference that soon after her first

arrival in Nyasaland she beckoned to a Native woman working in the garden, who took no notice of the signal thrice repeated. Mrs Hofmeyr asked her houseboy, 'Why doesn't that woman come when I beckon to her?' 'Ah,' he replied, 'you gave the white man's call. The African call is this way'—and he reversed the position of the hand. Then the woman responded and came. Mrs Hofmeyr rightly saw in this beckoning a symbol of the missionary's attitude and approach. We must beckon the African in the African way if we wish him to respond.

The African's Heritage. In philosophy, as in evangelism, we must begin with man as he is—with men as we find them.[1] The African, like ourselves, possesses a dual heritage. He comes into the world with innate tendencies derived from distant forbears, human and sub-human. These instincts he shares with ourselves—these are part of the common inheritance of mankind. As in ourselves, so in the Africans, these instincts generate impulses to action; and it is in the simple and complex emotions associated with these instincts—wonder, negative self-feeling, fear, awe, tender emotion—that the African's religion, as our own, has its roots. It is to those fundamental things in human nature that our appeal is in part directed in preaching. Did they not exist our work would be in vain.

This is one part of the African's heritage from the past; the other part is his social heritage. No more than ourselves does the African exist as an isolated individual; he and we are members of our groups. The child born into a family, the initiate reborn as a member of his clan or tribe, enters into a possession to which he has made no personal contribution. There is the language, for example, the social organization, the traditional system of custom and belief—Dr Westermann has described it all in his masterly article on 'The Value of the African's Past.'[2]

Into the relation between these two forms of heritage—the personal and the social—we need not now enter. Together they go to constitute the man whom it is our aim to make a disciple of Christ.

We Europeans and Americans have our social heritage as the Africans have theirs, but for various reasons theirs differs from ours. They look out upon the world with different eyes, they interpret facts in a different way, not because their mind is constituted

[1] The writer was asked to deal with the subject in reference to the African's heritage from the past. What follows is the substance of his address.

[2] In the Special Africa Number of *The International Review of Missions*, pp. 418–37.

disparately from our own, but because they have been taught to do so, whether by the deliberate instruction of their elders or by the unconscious influence of their group.

We must surely take cognisance of these facts in preaching to Africans. We must know the message we bring, but it is no less imperative to know the people to whom we bring the message. We may understand the African's heart largely by examining our own ; his instincts and emotions are no fewer and not more numerous than our own, though he may have them in greater or less strength. But all that is included and implied by social heritage can only be learnt by long and close study at first hand on the spot. A man is not fully a man by himself. To know him we must know him in his physical and social environment. Our preaching can only be successful as we understand the African in this intimate manner, and understanding him love him. This will open up avenues to his mind and heart.

It follows that to preach effectively to Africans we cannot address them as we would address an American or European congregation gathered in a church or at the street corner. If we would win his response we must learn to beckon to the African in the African way.

Fulfilment not Destruction. Indiscriminate denunciation of African customs in preaching is merely mischievous—and foolish. Not all members of the Le Zoute Conference were convinced of this, but the majority of those who spoke agreed with this view. The missionary discovers so much that is apparently evil, and so much that is really evil, that he is apt to become obsessed by it. There is a time and a way for dealing with bad customs, but it is not when preaching to a pagan audience as yet untouched by the Christian ideal and motive. When conviction of mind and devotion of heart have been captured, other things will follow.

Christianity comes to Africans with greater power when it is shown to be not destructive but a fulfilment of the highest aspirations which they have tried to express in their beliefs and rites. Canon Lucas (now Bishop of Masasi) told the Conference that when he went to East Africa he found (as other missionaries have found elsewhere) that Christianity was regarded as the religion of white men, some of whom had graciously condescended to offer it to the poor blacks. He spoke of a long conversation he had with an African priest to whom he tried to explain the full significance of the Master's words, ' I am come not to destroy but to fulfil.' ' He was very much moved,'

said Canon Lucas, 'and when I finished was unable to say a word. He rose up and went out. I saw him enter the church. Later he came back and said: "Now I can thank you; I had never understood before."' Christianity is not the white man's religion: it is a religion for all mankind. It is not necessary for the African to become denationalized in order to be a disciple of Christ. Christianity should be presented to him as the fulfilment and not the antagonist of his aspirations.

The Rev. A. S. Cripps, the poet-missionary, writes:

> Spirituality asks for our reverence wherever we may encounter it. Light is light, whether it be the morning starlight of pagan piety or the sunshine of Christian piety; the Light of the World, whether as bright and Morning Star in pagan darkness, or as the Dayspring in our Christian revelation, manifests Himself to His world, and demands our reverence, however dim some particular local manifestations of Himself among our primitive peoples may seem to us to be.[1]

Members of the Le Zoute Conference agreed that God has not left the Africans without a witness to Himself. Archdeacon Owen said of those whom he has known for many years in Uganda and Kenya that it would be possible to construct out of their traditions a book that might be called the African Old Testament—legends, histories and oracles that had been God's way of educating the people in the past.

> They have a heritage from God which we can only compare with the heritage that God gave the Jews in preparing them for Christ. We have not got to make the African a Jew before we make him a Christian. It is not necessary to teach him the story of Adam and Eve before we can bring him to Christ. You can approach the African at the point to which God has brought him and teach him Christ at once, and he will respond.

Awareness of God. The African is 'intensely and naturally religious,' says Dr Donald Fraser. The forms of his religion may appear crude to the undiscerning observer, even grotesque, but nobody who knows him in his pagan state would deny that he is religious. This fact has been made clear by many investigators —missionaries and others. But it is no new discovery. David Livingstone was convinced long ago that no African tribe lacked some knowledge of God. 'I hand the Africans a Bible,' he was wont to say, 'as a message from their God.' Dr Westermann, out of the fullness of his experience, echoes that saying: 'The mis-

[1] *The East and The West*, October 1926, pp. 326–7.

sionary is an ambassador of the God they know.' I asked Mr Dube about it, and he replied that he had never known a Zulu who doubted the existence of God. He was amazed when he went into Hyde Park and found a man preaching atheism; 'that would be impossible among Africans,' he said.

It is this awareness of God and religious predisposition that make the evangelization of Africa possible and provide a basis for it.

I myself—so I told the Conference—have begun at that point hundreds of times when speaking to pagan Africans. You go into an African village for the first time; you sit down and converse with a handful of people about ordinary everyday things; then, almost before you know where you are, you and they are all talking eagerly about God. You ask, 'What praise-title do you give to Leza?' They may be shy in answering, but if you say, 'The people over yonder call him Chaba (the great Giver), I wondered if you knew the name,' you will probably get a chorus of replies: 'We too name him Chaba; he is also Lubumba (the Moulder), and Chilenga (the Creator).' And in a few minutes they give you half a dozen names which express the deepest thoughts of their people concerning the Power whose working they discern in the world. Nowhere, so far as my experience goes, do you need to prove God's existence—you may assume it.

The man who should have talked at Le Zoute about preaching to Africans is the prophet Harris who flashed like a meteor through parts of West Africa a few years ago.[1] Africa's most successful evangelist, he gathered in a few months a host of converts exceeding in number the total church membership of all the missions in Nyasaland, now after fifty years of work.[2] What was his method? So far as records go, he did not quote the Bible—his pagans did not know the Bible; he did not tell of the teaching or miracles of Christ. He confined himself to two cardinal truths—of God and a Saviour. He could not, one thinks, have gained the pagans unless they had already been aware of God; this was his assumption, the point at which he touched them. Harris followed the example of Muslims. It is one secret of the marvellous success of Islamic propaganda that it brings the Africans a more sure knowledge of the God of whom they are already aware.

[1] The tale has been told with graphic power by Deaville Walker in his book, *The Story of the Ivory Coast* (Cargate Press, 1926).

[2] This must not be misunderstood. I am referring to numbers only. Harris's converts were quite uninstructed.

The preacher may begin with the African's awareness of God, but he does not end there. He does not need to prove God's existence and power ; but to bring home to their hearts and conscience that God is the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, a holy and loving God, is his great business. The steps that he will follow have been indicated by Dr Donald Fraser in his very suggestive article in the Special Africa Number of *The International Review of Missions*,[1] which should be read in connexion with this chapter.

Other Ways of Approach. Members showed out of varied experience how in the proverbs, folk-tales, legends and religious rites pegs are to be found on which to hang Christian truth. Reference was made particularly to African music. Mr Ballanta, a Negro who has devoted himself to a study of this subject, said :

> The African loves music intensely. I believe that one way of approaching him is to get him to sing about the love of God in his own way. The songs you hear in Africa may not be suitable for use, but substitute other words and adopt the tunes. Take short stories and put them to African music. Fit words to his tunes telling the truth of the Gospel and you will do a great deal towards getting that truth into his mind.

Canon Lucas urged that pictures should be prepared especially to appeal to the African mind.

All that we have dealt with in this section, the Conference recognized, goes to the roots of things. The attitude which we adopt towards the African's past will colour and shape everything we do—not in evangelism only, but in education and the building up of the Church. If we really believe that the Divine *Logos*, who lighteth every man, has shone in the souls of Africans, we shall endeavour to trace that working and find therein the *preparatio evangelica*, and the conviction will regulate all our dealings with the people.

Presentation of the Gospel to Muslims

THE papers prepared in advance for the Le Zoute Conference included three of supreme value on Islam in Africa,[2] written respectively by M. Delafosse (the eminent French scholar and administrator), Dr S. M. Zwemer, and Dr Walter Miller of the Church Missionary Society, Northern Nigeria. These set forth the present position and the great and pressing duty of the Church of Christ.

[1] On ' The Evangelistic Approach to the African,' pp. 438–49.

[2] Special Africa Number of *The International Review of Missions*, pp. 533–68.

To-day, wrote Dr Miller in conclusion, ' To-day an army, not a mob, is needed for the evangelization of Moslem Africa. Not less burning zeal for the true conversion of souls to God, but a more complete use of all the God-given agencies for establishing a kingdom, used in an orderly, efficient and co-ordinated way.' Words that apply with equal cogency to pagan and Muslim Africa.

These papers show that the promoters of the Conference did not at all minimize this subject. It stands, indeed, pre-eminent among the tasks of the Church in Africa. But it was impossible for the Conference to enter upon a full consideration of it. Since it had been so amply discussed by the Near East Missionary Conferences there was the less need to do so.

The Conference listened with strained attention to Mr W. J. W. Roome, who, with the map before him, traced the line of Islam's advance. Dr S. M. Zwemer, in his earnest and vivid manner, drove home the following points. Islam is a world problem, but in Africa it is acute and urgent as nowhere else. Islam has an educational programme for all Africa. Islam pours out literature and extends the area of Arabic-literates every year. Islam is a world brotherhood ; always and everywhere cosmopolitan. Islam seeks political power and is an important factor in the game of politics in Africa. According to Dr Zwemer's revised figures, the Muslims in Africa number 48,190,000.

Miss C. E. Padwick of Cairo read a paper, quoted on page 71, in which she stressed the importance of literature for Muslims. For the most part it does not yet exist.

The Conference passed a resolution (addressed to the mission boards) asking that, where there is a considerable Muhammadan population, missionaries should receive special training in Islamics and Arabic.

But when will the Christian Church shake off the indifference that has so long held her and embark upon a determined, comprehensive, well-planned effort to win the Muslim World for her Master ?

Evangelization of African Women

THE previous sections of this chapter have had women in view equally with men. But since work among women has special features of its own, and is liable to be neglected, we give it the emphasis of a section to itself.

The subject was dealt with by Mrs Hofmeyr, who brought out the following points. The evangelization of African women must be along national lines—it must be done in such a way that they shall maintain their race pride, their love for the mother tongue, their unity with their own people. It must come through the service of Christian women—'the African woman needs a friend more than anything else.' It can be promoted by organizing welfare work in rural areas—'I have visions of large locations and rural areas being turned into centres of health and happy Christian home life if we grip the situation to-day, if we scatter these fine African women as home and health agents all over South Africa.' The evangelization of the African women will, Mrs Hofmeyr was convinced, be greatly helped by uniting the Christian women in a well-organized women's society. In the subsequent discussion it was said that such a society exists in Uganda and is exercising a powerful influence for good.

Special attention, Mrs Hofmeyr said, should be concentrated on the old women, repositories of tribal wisdom and therefore the most conservative element in African society.

One thing is certain: Africa will never be won for Christ until her women are won. Their sorrows, which are many, call for relief. Their influence, as wives and mothers, is paramount. A wise strategy would seek to enlist them for the Christian Mission. Gain the women, and you will gain the men—the reverse is not so certain.

The Use of the Vernacular in Preaching

IF effective use is to be made of the methods of preaching advocated at Le Zoute one thing is of absolute necessity: missionaries must know the language and mentality of their people. It certainly ought not to be possible for men to remain on the field for ten and even twenty years, who can neither preach a sermon, nor say a prayer at the death-bed of an elder of the congregation, in the vernacular.

Dr Westermann spoke plainly and to the point.

> I should like to ask one very simple and very personal question, 'How many missionaries in Africa are able to preach to a rural community without an interpreter?' My experience is that most missionaries are able to preach to people in the neighbourhood of the mission station because these have grown accustomed to the preacher's peculiar dialect. That is one thing. You can only claim to have mastered the vernacular if you are able to go out into the bush and talk to people who have known

little or nothing of the message, and be understood by them. I have known very few missionaries who are really able to do that. This matter involves more than language, for if you know the language you will understand the African also. Most of us do not understand him. Much that is very real in African life will remain a closed door to you if you do not master the language. If we want to bring promise of a new life to the African we are simply obliged to know his old life. The only way to the African mind is through a mastery of African speech. People speak of the poverty of African languages ; it is not the poorness of the language that is at fault—it is the poorness of our knowledge of the language. Can we afford to continue sending out missionaries in utter ignorance, and then to throw them into the work the first day they arrive, so that they have no time to be introduced into the language and into native life ?

It is for the mission boards to answer Dr Westermann's question. Surely the day has gone when the best men could be picked out for India and China and the rest sent to Africa, as if any man or woman were good enough for Africa. The time for amateurs has passed—if it ever existed. Nothing is too good for Africa. There is clamant need for a revision of the methods of training missionaries—in England at least ; they do it better in America. Some societies need to be persuaded that any special training is necessary for men and women going to Africa. It ought not to be possible for any missionary to land, or remain, in Africa ignorant of the things he—or she—needs to know in order to preach the Gospel and to guide the infant Church. That is one message Le Zoute addresses to the Church in Europe and America.

These resolutions were passed by the Conference :

The Conference would emphasize the need of the fullest possible knowledge of the vernacular of the people for a true approach to the African mind in presenting the Christian Gospel and in building up a Christian habit of life.

The Conference recommends that missionary societies provide full opportunity and time to African missionaries, by means of recognized courses at home or on the field, to study native languages, customs and religion, that they may make an effective approach to the African mind.

It is no secret that some members would have liked to strengthen these resolutions—which they thought were too mild-mannered—by advising mission boards to recall any man or woman who had failed, after an adequate period of trial, to master the vernacular.

CHAPTER VI

THE AFRICAN CHURCH

THE life of the African is essentially social and based on tribal conditions and traditional customs. The interests of the individual are subordinate to the interests of the group. The community rather than the individual is the unit of thought and practice to a far greater degree than it is among ourselves. The fact that Christianity brings him into a society makes a powerful appeal to the African's social sense. Christian discipleship is not to be realized by men in isolation. The blessing of Pentecost was vouchsafed not to personalities cut off from their fellows, but to a group. The Christian Mission, in Africa as elsewhere, looks to the formation of a Christian society wherein men and women may find themselves in corporate acts of worship and service. In Africa to-day, where tribal life is threatened with dissolution by the influence of western civilization, this integrative power of Christianity is a factor of the highest importance. 'It seems to me,' said Dr Julius Richter at Le Zoute, 'that nowhere in the world has the Church such an overwhelming importance as in Africa. The associative tendency is happily one of the strongest elements in Native life. To make the best possible use of it for the building up of strong and living and cohesive Churches is the most valuable contribution we have to make for the future of the continent.'

The missionary's gravest problems arise when converts are gathered into the Church. Those problems have been set out in considerable, though not in exhaustive, fullness by Professor Willoughby and Canon Spanton in their papers—papers which were written, and re-written, in consultation with other experienced missionaries and which, therefore, represent a large consensus of well-informed conviction. They should be studied in connexion with Dr Loram's article on 'The Separatist Church Movement in South Africa.' [1]

The Conference re-affirmed the conviction that Africa will best be evangelized by her own children, and urged the utmost importance

[1] Special Africa Number of *The International Review of Missions*, pp. 450–82.

of seeking out and training the men and women whom God has called to this work. It laid stress upon the supervision and guidance of these evangelists.

There are many other subjects into which the Conference could not enter. We are here concerned with only such points as the discussions covered

The Relation of the Church to African Customs

THE acceptance by Africans of Christianity does not mean—at least, it ought not to mean—that they cease to be Africans. Dr Donald Fraser's words—' I fear the evangel which denationalizes ' —expressed the general conviction of the Conference. But the more we accept the view that in Africa the forms of Christianity should be African as well as Christian, the more we are compelled to face the relation between the new life and the old. To one who believes (if such an one exists) that all the ancient customs are irredeemably bad, the problem does not arise ; he simply denounces and prohibits everything—and finds that new problems arise out of his intransigency. To one who is convinced of the working of the Eternal Spirit in the African's past, the question presses home : How am I to guide my people so that while becoming true disciples of Christ they may remain true Africans ? The Conference declared that ' no moral standard for the African Christian which is content with anything lower than likeness to Christ is adequate.' It took to heart the warning uttered by Dr Zwemer, who out of his wide knowledge pointed to the way in which a compliant Islam has allowed itself to be degraded by heathen belief and practice. ' Islam has much to teach us by the law of contraries,' said Dr Zwemer. ' We must beware of opening the door to a trickling stream of animism which after all may engulf the Church.' His words had immediate reference to the importation of animistic beliefs into the Church, but they implied also tolerance of practices associated with animism. The Conference was impressed by this warning, but it was nevertheless anxious to avoid compelling the African to make a complete break with his past. Its attitude may be defined in the words of Mr Mahabane : Tolerance combined with thorough and persistent instruction.

It was realized that modern missionaries have gained a fuller acquaintance with African life than their pioneer predecessors could

have, and that we should be free to revise former decisions in view of what has been learnt. Dr Richter expressed it thus :

> Our missions have had an experience of over a century now, and more or less definite rules have been laid down and followed. On the other hand, I am more and more conscious that those decisions were taken by our predecessors in greater or less ignorance. They did not know what those customs meant ; they did not know the Africans. We know the facts far better than they knew them, and cannot but ask ourselves, Shall we continue to follow their rules ?

Pros and Cons. African members pointed out that, in the south particularly, people are deserting the Church on account of the stiff and unbending attitude of missionaries towards customs which Africans do not regard as evil. How far this is a revolt against the legitimate maintenance of a high standard of morality is not clear. On the other hand, some African members praised the attitude taken by their missionaries and advocated its continuance.

The Conference was evidently placed in a difficult position. On the whole it was convinced that some alteration was called for, but it was anxious not to put a stumbling-block in the way of mature Christians who have always been taught to regard certain customs as wrong. It adopted a resolution to the effect that where in the light of more comprehensive knowledge a change of practice is suggested, it should be made only with due care not to wound the feelings of the African Christians. It was felt that missionaries might be over-zealous in legislating for the African Church. After all, Africans know the life of their people as no foreigner can know it ; and it is Africans, not foreigners, who will ultimately determine the course that the African Church will take in these matters. The Conference therefore expressed its conviction that in all questions of indigenous custom, the counsel of well-instructed African Christians should be sought. It added that care should be taken not to create artificial sins—a warning that is not without warrant.

Canon Rowling illustrated the way in which the African Church should be encouraged to deal with old customs. When the first Christian Kabaka of Uganda was to be installed, the elders of the Church were asked to go through the ancient ceremonies and to indicate which could, and which could not, be consistently performed by a Christian ruler. Their advice was followed.

Discussions on these matters have gone on for some generations

now, and will still go on. Perhaps a sufficiently clear distinction is not always drawn between ' customs ' and ' wrong-doing '—between what is merely customary and what is contrary to Christian morality. We have our own customs to which we cling tenaciously, often long after they have ceased to have any meaning. Africans have their customs which differ from ours, but they are not necessarily wrong because of that difference—they may be equally accordant with Christianity, and conceivably they may be even more so than our own. Things that appear to us evil may not be evil at all. If we could turn the matter round and see our customs through African eyes we might learn something. I have heard, for example, old Africans comment on Livingstone's travelling in the same waggon with his wife during the weeks of 1851 that followed the birth of their son, William Oswell. With all their reverence for Livingstone they had not forgotten the scandal; to him, as to ourselves, there was nothing wrong in it, but to the Africans it was positively indecent. An African member of the Conference was genuinely shocked to see ladies on the sands in bathing costumes and to see men and women dancing on the promenade with their arms round each other. To us there is nothing necessarily wrong about these things, but to this African they were wicked. Quite innocent scenes thrown upon the cinematograph screen may give Africans a terrible, and erroneous, impression of European depravity. In precisely the same way, Europeans are apt to see evil in African doings where there is no evil.

The Conference wisely discriminated. It enunciated the principle that ' everything that is good in the African's heritage should be conserved, enriched and ennobled by contact with the spirit of Christ,' and divided customs into three categories :

(1) Customs which are evil—these the Church cannot sanction.

(2) Customs which are not incompatible with the Christian life—these should not be condemned.

(3) Customs whose accidents are evil but whose substance is valuable—these may be purified and used.

The Conference did not attempt to draw up a list of customs that should be banned or encouraged. In the discussions it was once more made apparent how bewilderingly diverse African practices are; no Conference could possibly give detailed directions—the matter must be decided locally.

The Initiation Rites. A meeting was held outside the Conference

programme to consider a custom which, in some regions, may be regarded as belonging to the third category, viz. the initiation ceremonies performed when young Africans pass from immaturity into manhood and womanhood. The intention is to prepare the young people for entrance into adult and tribal life by imparting the necessary instruction and also by testing and hardening them. Gross immorality is often, if not usually, associated with the initiatory rites; but apparently this is not of their essence, and unquestionably the intention of the rites is admirable. Canon Lucas described how for thirteen years now the Universities' Mission has adapted the rites to Christian usage, purifying them of grossness and retaining everything that is valuable. For a month the initiates are instructed, under conditions that make a powerful impression upon their minds, not only in manners and other matters that were taught in the pagan initiation but in Christian morality. The elders of the tribe accept this ceremony as giving the young people equal status with that conferred by the pagan rite, so that there is no severance from the tribe. The Christians, who were at first suspicious, recognize now the great value of the adaptation and would on no account agree to its abolition.

Members of the Conference were not agreed upon the possibility, or even the desirability, of following in their own fields the example of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa; and the Conference, as such, expressed no opinion.

Polygamy. On only one specific custom did the Conference have anything to say, and that only in general terms, namely, polygamy. This is the resolution: 'This Conference is convinced that Christian Society must be built on Christian family life and that the ideal of the Christian family life can only be realized in monogamy.'

Arguments on this subject never end, and, while all will agree with this general principle, some people will continue asking questions. What should be done when a man applies for admission into the Church, who in the days of his ignorance contracted legal marriage, according to African customary law, with several wives, and cannot now honourably break the contract—should he be baptized or not?

Anglican members of the Conference were bound to answer this question in accordance with the resolution No. 67 of the Lambeth Conference of Bishops in 1920, which reads as follows: 'The Conference affirms as our Lord's principle and standard of marriage a lifelong and indissoluble union, for better or worse, of one man with

one woman, to the exclusion of all others on either side, and calls upon all Christian people to maintain and bear witness to this standard.'

This decision is, of course, final for missionaries of the Anglican Communion, but some others are not sure that it completely meets the position found in Africa to-day.

Bishop Hennig of the Moravians—who of all Protestant communions have the longest experience in Africa—would have liked the Conference to accept the following statement: 'Granted that polygamy is a heathen abuse of the divine order of things, we nevertheless maintain that the Christian Mission has no right to treat as illegal conjugal unions contracted by heathen according to the legal standards of their people. We further hold that the Christian Mission has no right to refuse to such, if they believe in Christ, the sacrament of baptism and with it the right of entrance into the Christian Church.'

This was the attitude taken years ago by that great phil-African, Bishop Colenso, who considered it cruel and unjust to turn adrift women who had been good and faithful wives. While affirming that no Christian who had been baptized could be allowed to take more than one wife, he came to the conclusion that a man who was already a polygamist should not be required to get rid of any of them. Some members of the Conference were willing to take that position to-day and would trust to the work of the Spirit in the hearts of Christians to raise their standard of sexual morality. They would go so far as this in tolerating polygamy, believing that the women will one day rebel against it and bring it to an end—even as some Muslim women are doing to-day. They would rather wait for this than impose monogamy upon polygamists from the outside. But other members of the Conference—a majority—were opposed to such tolerance, believing, not without reason, that it would inevitably lower the ideal of Christian marriage which at any cost must be maintained. The Conference ended, therefore, by affirming the Christian ideal of family life in the terms already quoted.

Church Discipline

IF the Church is to be pure and strong, discipline of the members is necessary. The Conference, however, was impressed by the numbers of Christians under discipline who lapse entirely through

lack of shepherding. It asked, therefore, that discipline should make for edification and not for destruction, and that greater care should be taken to look after those who are temporarily excluded from the privileges of the Church.

The feeling was strongly expressed that in all cases, and from the very beginning of the establishment of a congregation, African Christians should be associated with the missionary in judging breaches of the law of the Church.

Some rather painful instances were mentioned of the lack of co-operation between neighbouring missions in this important matter, disciplined members being received into another communion without inquiry. A resolution was passed asking for greater care to be taken.

Essential Christianity and the Church

A SUBJECT of profound importance was introduced by Professor Willoughby in his address on Building the Church: should missions aim at propagating essential Christianity or at establishing African branches of European denominations? He made it clear that he did not despise denominationalism—'a man who calls himself an undenominationalist Christian is the most denominational Christian I know.' It was a matter of where the emphasis should be placed. He suggested that Christianity is something better and bigger than creeds and institutions, and defined Christianity as an attitude and a temper: 'the attitude that Jesus took towards God and man; the temper that always comes to a man who sincerely and persistently takes Jesus as his director of spiritual behaviour.'

In the discussion it was made clear that essential Christianity (however defined) must be organized, just as a spirit must have a body, if it is to live and grow in this world. The question was, what body? Am I as a Methodist to transplant the Methodist system to Africa, with its class-tickets and chapels labelled 'Methodist,' its members reckoned a part of the Home Church and its ministers as Methodist preachers under the jurisdiction of the Home Conference? Are other missionaries to act similarly, carrying to Africa all the denominational distinctions which are the shame of our European and American Christianity, with the result that the Africans also must learn to pray about 'our unhappy divisions'?

As things are, Africans transfer their clan allegiance to their denominations and become more denominationalist than the missionaries. Or, on the other hand, are we to plant the Gospel deep into the hearts of Africans and allow them to organize their Christian life according to their own genius ?

Many ardent and devoted missionaries would urge that to allow this course would be to overlook the fact that from the time of the Apostles a Christian society has existed—not an invisible fellowship of the spirit, merely, but a visible society, an organized body, bearing the signs of a transmitted authority in an ordered succession through a ministry depending on episcopal ordination. This visible society is the Church, Catholic and Apostolic. Neither Africans nor any other people can possibly organize a Church ; there is but one Church and all that men can do is to enter it by duly appointed ways.

The Rev. Robert H. Baker, of the Community of the Resurrection, who is a missionary in Southern Rhodesia, quoted a passage from Professor Raoul Allier's *La Psychologie de la conversion chez les peuples non-civilisés.*[1] ' Protestant and Catholic missions,' writes M. Allier, ' while pursuing the same end, which is to make Christians, are inspired by principles which are sometimes dissimilar, and in consequence put into practice divergent methods. . . . Before having a single convert, the Catholic missionary, from the day that he settles in a country, introduces there, with himself, and so to speak, in his person, the Church and its authority, and he comes to propose to the Natives to enter into that Church which exists independently of them. The Protestant missionary, although attached in his homeland to a religious group of which he is a member and sometimes the representative, does not think of the Church till the day on which he will have a sufficient number of converts to constitute with them a community.' The difference between the views is not merely an external one ; it involves a different theological outlook ; and it leads to divergent methods of admitting converts.

How far this antithesis is accurately drawn may be questioned. Many a missionary, who in the technical sense would not be named ' catholic,' certainly regards himself as introducing the Church from the day of his arrival in a land where there are no other Christians. When he and his wife, or fellow-missionary, celebrate Communion together the Church is already there, and when the converts are

[1] Vol i. pp. 15, 16.

gathered these naturally take their place in it. The little community, from the very first day, is, in the mind of such missionaries, part and parcel of the Catholic Church, or, as they may prefer to name it, the Universal Church. They may organize the community on the lines to which they were accustomed at home—with such modifications as the different circumstances demand—but they regard this organization as temporary and possibly to be altered at some future date when the African Church (which they clearly distinguish from the Mission) shall have come to maturity and is able to refashion it in accordance with its own genius and its knowledge of history. The fact that organic unity with other communities founded by other missions is for the present unobtainable is, for such missionaries, a very saddening feature of their work; but they are sure that a unity of heart and soul and will is compatible with separate systems of organization. In other words, they do not identify the Church with any existing visible society.

These divergent views were represented at Le Zoute. They did not destroy the essential unity of spirit which characterized the Conference. In the discussion members contributed what they saw of the truth, what they cherished as their faith. It was not the time, nor the place, to settle questions which divide the servants of Christ—questions which some of us think to be, after all, of secondary importance but which have a very considerable bearing on the Christian Mission in Africa. We must say that the discussion was unfruitful of immediate result. No consensus of opinion was discernible. But in many of the members, if not in all, a passionate yearning was revealed for a united African Church, linked indissolubly with the rest of Christendom by loyalty to Christ and to the things for which He stands—a branch of the Church Catholic, and truly African.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION

The New Situation

SEPTEMBER 4th, 1920, is a memorable date in the history of Africa, for on that day the first of the two Phelps-Stokes Commissions landed at Sierra Leone. Sent from America on the initiative of the missionary societies, and under the leadership of Dr Jesse Jones, to make a survey of educational conditions and opportunities among the Negroes of Africa, the first Commission visited Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gold Coast, Nigeria, Cameroons, Belgian Congo, Angola and South Africa. The second Commission reached Africa in January 1924, and visited Abyssinia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, and the Union of South Africa. Their reports, following personal intercourse with missionaries, administrators and settlers, and inspection of many schools, gave rise to far-reaching changes. They crystallized conceptions of education which had long lain in solution in many minds, missionary and official. Governments, most of which had not hitherto been in a position to embark upon educational schemes (beyond, in some instances, making small grants to mission schools), listened readily to sane and disinterested men who urged upon them that education is the key to the future of the African peoples. Their ideals captured the attention, in many cases the enthusiastic adherence, of officials and settlers. From that time the Governments of British Africa, at least, have thrown considerable energy into their educational policy.

In June 1923, on the initiative of the British missionary societies, the British Colonial Secretary set up an Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa.

In June 1926, a representative gathering attended by the leading Africanists of many nationalities, decided to establish an International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. Here again the initiative was taken by missionaries, led by Mr J. H. Oldham.

All these events register an enormous advance in the cause of education.

We must remember again the fact of which M. Couve reminded the Le Zoute Conference : not all Africa is British. We do not overlook the fact that the French have a programme of education for their African territories and are carrying it out. The Belgians, too, are active on the Congo. Members of the Conference, like Mr Millman of Yakusu, paid a tribute to Belgian officials for their help and interest in the schools.

Almost everywhere in Africa missionaries have been pioneers in education. At present, upwards of a million young Africans are gathered in the Protestant schools and perhaps an equal number in the Roman Catholic schools. Being conscious that they had done their best with inadequate means the missionaries did not resent the criticisms made by the Commissions on their schools—on the contrary, they welcomed them and were prompted thereby to reach out towards better methods and more adequate conceptions of the functions of the school. The declared policy of the British Colonial Office brought additional stimulus to the missions concerned. That policy looks, not to supersession, but to active co-operation with the missions. It was, however, plainly indicated that a higher standard would be insisted on and that the Governments were prepared to go forward, whether the missions came into line or not.

In view of all this, missionaries saw the necessity of reviewing the whole situation, of stating once again and in unequivocal language their educational ideals, of defining their attitude towards the Governments' policy, and of making concrete proposals as to the curriculum and other matters. 'These years of study and survey have been necessary,' said Mr Wilkie at Le Zoute. 'Our immediate duty is to translate their results into practice.'

A strong section of the Conference, under the expert leadership of Dr C. T. Loram, considered the subject. Its carefully considered conclusions, heartily endorsed by the full Conference, will be found on pages 109 to 116.

The main principles set forth in this valuable document are of general application throughout Africa, but the details will of course need to be adapted to the varied conditions in the several territories.

Perhaps for no other great mission field have such a definite policy and programme ever been formulated.

The Christian Ideal of Education

CERTAIN members of the Conference expressed concern as to the effect of the new attitude of Governments. Would it mean some compromise that would lower the religious value of the mission schools? Would it mean that missionaries might devote their energies so exclusively to education that evangelization would be thrust into the background? Behind such questions there seemed to be some misapprehension as to the meaning of evangelization and education. They are not really in opposition, if rightly defined.

The Rev. A. W. Wilkie, speaking from an experience of twenty-five years in West Africa, answered such questions in his address at the Conference.

It is my profound conviction [he said] that the best results in education can only be achieved by the fullest possible sympathetic co-operation, and that there is no necessary opposition between the aims of Governments and of missions. I believe that we can carry Governments with us, and that they are increasingly prepared to recognize our fundamental position that all educational activities in Africa must end in ghastly failure if there is an attempt to divorce education from religion. In British West Africa Government has frankly acknowledged this. Apart from the teaching and the inspiration of Jesus Christ there can be no sure foundation for the upbuilding of character. I have been asked again and again by African pastors if I do not think that nowadays education unduly absorbs the attention of the Church, and that the cost of supporting teachers for schools is disproportionate and that evangelization is thereby hindered. I have only one answer to such questions: that it depends upon what we regard as central in education, the kind of education we are giving in our schools, and the type of teacher whom we think suitable to put in charge of schools. There are schools which are costly and useless. It would be wiser to close these at once; they have no place in the missionary enterprise; they have no evangel and the teachers are utterly incompetent for any real teaching. It is vital that we should have our main aim clearly and steadily in view. I can only describe this in the words of our Lord: 'I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly.' That must be the aim of all our education: to open up the way to abundant life. The aim must be interpreted with the mind and in the spirit of the Master Himself, and followed up into all its manifold implications for the individual and for the community. Interpreted in this way, as I passionately believe it ought to be, education is not outside the primary plan of Christian missions,

but lies at the very heart of it. It is the finest God-given instrument for the evangelization and the upbuilding of a new Africa. The religious spirit must be woven into the whole being of the school and be felt in every activity.

The Conference wholeheartedly adopted this view and defined it in preciser terms, as follows :

The members of the Conference see in Jesus Christ all the elements of human greatness meeting in the perfection of grace and truth. To have the mind of Christ is, in their estimation, the mark of maturity for any man. This Conference, therefore, regards Christlikeness as the supreme moral achievement, and to fashion character after the pattern of Christ is to them that definition of the aim of education which, traced out in all its implications, is felt by the consent of our whole nature to be at once the highest and the most comprehensive.

And again, at the close of its series of recommendations, the Conference returned to this point, defining its educational aim in St Paul's words : ' Until we all come unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ, that we may be no longer children.'

Educational Policy

THE Conference proceeded to delineate its policy in regard to the Governments, having always the British Government chiefly in mind, but hoping that others will adopt a similar attitude.

The Conference agreed that education in Africa is a co-operative undertaking in which Governments, missions, Africans and the non-official European community are all concerned. Government is primarily responsible for the education of the people over whom it has assumed control. It is for the Government to formulate and generally to direct educational policy, to administer the educational system and to supervise all educational institutions. It can best obtain the co-operation of the other parties by establishing an Advisory Board upon which all are represented. Such boards have already been set up in some of the Dependencies. Through them the missionary societies can exert considerable influence if they will appoint to each area at least one highly competent, fully qualified, educationalist who might be invited by Government to represent the missions.

Inspection and Supervision. Furthermore, the missions acknowledge the right of Government to inspect their schools. Not only

so, they welcome inspection. The Rev. J. K. Macgregor, of the Hope Waddell Institute, Calabar, expressed in this way the advantages to be derived : ' It is not merely a question of grants. Some of us cannot get on without the inspector—cannot afford to lose his criticism. If we do not have some critical judge coming in among us and pointing out the defects of our work, we shall never see the defects. If the right kind of government inspector comes along he will be of enormous help to us.' The Conference asked that inspectors should be competent educators, in sympathy with missionary effort, and able to speak one or more of the African languages current in their circuits.

Mission schools are too often inadequately supervised. This may be said while acknowledging that some missions have an efficient system of supervision. African teachers, often with very scant training, are sent out to teach far from headquarters ; they are subject to great temptation and are very liable to grow stale and slack because of their isolation. Mr Macgregor told of one missionary who had 240 schools under his care and had not visited most of them for more than a year. ' That,' commented Mr Macgregor, ' is absolutely useless.' The missionary is usually not to blame : he has too much to do. The missions are not adequately staffed.

The Americans have discovered one solution of this problem. Their rural schools for Negroes were scattered over wide areas and were in charge of teachers whose training was of the poorest. A Quaker woman, Miss Anna T. Jeanes, believed in these little schools and gave her fortune for their improvement. From this fund a band of itinerant supervisory teachers is supported ; they travel from school to school, spending according to need a day here, or a week there, not as inspectors but as enhearteners of the local teachers and as initiators of improvements and new methods. They aim at extending the influence of the schools into the homes and villages, thus relating them to the needs of the community. The extension of this system to Africa—modified to suit local conditions—would be a great blessing. In Kenya an institution for training Jeanes teachers (as they will always be called now) has already been founded by the Government. The Conference advocated the employment of such teachers and asked that ordinarily they should be trained at a central institution controlled by a governing body on which missions were adequately represented, and that they should as a rule work under the direction of the missions.

Division of Labour: Grants. Where Governments and missions work in co-operation how shall their distinctive fields be delimited ? It is impossible for the missions to man all the schools required, and unless great numbers of Africans are to be deprived of education the Government must open its own schools—as, indeed, it has done in some territories. The Conference suggested that, so far as they are able to do the work, the missions should be entrusted with village, central village, intermediate and secondary schools, and in particular with the training of teachers. It was recognized that where the missions could not do it, the Government would have to provide this type of education also. On the other hand, higher and technical instruction, such as that given in colleges and advanced industrial, agricultural and medical institutions, should, under present conditions, be conducted by Government through the agency of governing bodies on which missions are represented. Of course, if missions, or groups of missions, wished to set up such institutions, they should not be prevented from doing so, provided they conformed to conditions laid down by Government.

The foregoing paragraph embodies a highly important decision, the significance of which may easily escape some readers. It means that missions in Africa—unlike those in some other parts of the world—will throw their strength into elementary education and the training of teachers. This is far more important than the training of a limited number of scholars.

One other question arises : how is this work to be paid for ? The mission exchequers cannot bear, and should not be expected to bear, the expense ; and the degree in which the missionary societies can carry out the educational programme outlined by the Conference must depend upon the financial assistance provided by Government. The Conference asked that where mission schools and government schools are set up and work under similar circumstances, the former should be given such grants as to afford them equal opportunity with the latter of attaining to the same standard of efficiency.

What are the Schools to do ?

AFRICA has much to learn, and is learning much, from America in the matter of education. The Conference showed its appreciation of this fact by giving a whole evening to American experts, Dr E. C. Sage, Dr J. H. Dillard, President John

Hope and Mr Jackson Davis. From the time of General Armstrong and the foundation of Hampton and Tuskegee Colleges, after the Civil War, the Americans have worked out new ideas of the utmost value—not for the education of the Negro only, but for all education. Thanks to the generosity of the directors of the Phelps-Stokes Fund many missionaries have been able to visit the Southern States and to study the system. The chief exponent of the New Education (as we may well call it) is Dr Jesse Jones. His influence was conspicuously manifest in the recommendations of the Conference as to the scope and practice of the schools in Africa.

The Four Simples. In his recent book,[1] as elsewhere, Dr Jesse Jones preaches with fervour the doctrine that consciousness of community should govern all education, should colour school policies and determine school aims. By the term 'consciousness of community' he means 'a comprehensive understanding of community conditions on the basis of which the educator plans the whole educational process.' Education, Dr Jones insists, should prepare for life.

The Conference adopted this conception and declared that 'the curriculum of all types of schools should be drawn up with complete awareness of the life of the community.' This is a far-reaching principle. It is not the needs of a few individuals, nor the needs of this white man or that for clerks and artisans, that is to be regulative. The needs of the community are to be considered first and foremost—they are to determine the curriculum and the whole conduct of the school. Out of the elements of group life Dr Jones selects four of vital and obvious importance and these he terms the 'simples' of the community. They are: (1) Health and sanitation; (2) appreciation and use of the environment; (3) the household and the home; (4) recreation. (It is important to realize that by 'recreation' Dr Jones means 're-creation,' i.e. mental, moral and spiritual development.) These 'simples' are to determine the form of education given in the schools.

It is too often overlooked that the Africans have their own indigenous system of education. They had no schools in the ordinary sense before foreigners introduced them, but they did educate, and educated for life. From their early years the children were taught the folk tales, legends and traditions of the tribe. Their play was a preparation for the serious pursuits of maturity. In one tribe at

[1] *Four Essentials of Education* (1926. Charles Scribner's Sons).

least it was usual when a lion had been attacked and lay gasping, not without the power of still hurting, that the little boys were encouraged to drive spears into its body, for the purpose of teaching them not to fear. The boys became skilled trappers and herdsmen before they were grown up, the girls skilled in basketry and pot-making. During the initiation rites both boys and girls were given moral instruction of considerable value, under conditions that impressed it indelibly on their minds. Crude as it may appear, in their training of the young the Africans showed themselves to be practical psychologists of no mean order. It would not be difficult to relate their system to that of Dr Jones. They possessed no books, but their training was intended to prepare, and actually did prepare, the youths for community life. The New Education is, to a remarkable degree, a development of the indigenous African system.

The Conference achieves a Synthesis. In its article on the curriculum, the Conference adopted, or adapted, the Jesse Jones philosophy. It has been felt in some quarters that Dr Jones does not lay sufficient emphasis on religion when he regards it as one of the elements of re-creation. The Conference achieved a synthesis. It accepted the new ideals *con amore* and placed religion in the forefront. This is the general statement of its view :

> Character development based on religion should be the colouring of every educational activity. Hygiene and health should be emphasized, not only in the practice of the school and home but in the reading, writing and arithmetic of the school. Agriculture and industry should be taught in the classroom as well as practised in the field and workshop. The building up of a sound home life should receive consideration in the school as well as be exemplified in the home, and the value of recreation should be taught by both practice and precept.

Such a programme differs widely from that usually adopted in the past both by mission and government schools. Education is no longer to be regarded as ' book-learning '—its aim is not the mastering of books and the passing of examinations, but the elevation of the tone and character of the community in which the school is placed.

Mr Wilkie gave the following exposition :

> If education is the opening of a way to abundant life, and if that is interpreted with the mind of Christ, that life can only be found in service. The Son of Man came to *give* His life, and the mission school only fulfils its purpose when the pupils are inspired to follow in His steps. In the

Southern States of America nothing impressed me more than the way in which so many of the coloured teachers and pupils spoke of ' my people.' And I think the world owes an undying debt to men like General Armstrong who led the way, which to me always seems to be nothing but the interpretation of the way of Christ. The school is there and the pupils come to the school, not primarily for what they can get for themselves there, but to learn how they can most fully serve their people.

When this conception is really grasped the whole idea of the school as a merely literate establishment for the imparting of certain facts falls to pieces. So falls also the idea of the school as a training place for clerks or hands for industrial groups. It becomes the centre of the life of the community—serving it, helping it ; conserving all that is good in its old loyalties ; sweetening its life, preparing it for a fuller life. It will possibly not for generations stem the flow from the rural districts to the coastal and more populous towns. But with the village life enriched and each year becoming fuller and better, the exodus will be slower, and those who go away will go forth with the old loyalties still strong and with that passionate love for the tribe and the family which the African has naturally so strongly developed.

Dr Jones has preached with Celtic fervour the gospel of the soil and of health. I am with him wholeheartedly. But we can never make this teaching really effective simply by putting on the time table periods for agriculture and hygiene ; I believe we can only make it effective by a definite determination to bring the whole life of the school into relation with the community in which it is established. For this reason mainly, I feel that it is of the greatest importance that all our schools, and particularly our boarding schools and our training centres for teachers and catechists, should be set up in the closest possible touch with normal rural communities and not in isolated localities.

Bringing the school throughout into intimate relations with the community would also go a very long way to solving the problem of the education of girls. In spite of everything said to the contrary, I am convinced that the objection to sending girls to school is still strong, and very slowly passing. Why ? Because the training has been completely unrelated to the life which they will have to live. But when the central part of their training is brought to bear on the life of their own homes—the care of the poor, diseased, suffering babies, the sorrow of the childless mothers—the opposition rapidly passes, and the schools organized on such lines cannot take all the girls whom the parents wish to send.

So also with agriculture. It must be far more than a formal lesson on the time table, and never, *never*, a period for ' manual labour,' when the teacher can go away and slack—or make an excuse for getting unpaid labour for his farm. That way lies training in loathing of all connected with the soil. The school garden should be a place of joyous work and

continuous interest, but I believe that in addition to the garden belonging to the school very much can be done along lines followed in many schools of the Southern States, namely, by the cultivation by pupils under the advice of a teacher of plots on the father's or the chief's land.

A question arises here which demands an answer that this discussion did not give. Where, as on the West Coast, European settlement is not likely to develop, it is possible to plan education with the African community only in view. But in South and East Africa, where Europeans establish colonies, the community in the broadest sense consists not of Blacks alone but of Whites and Blacks. If the needs of the community are to regulate the curriculum of the school, the fact that Africans have to live among Europeans, and are to some extent economically dependent upon them, must be reckoned with. Europeans in East Africa demand that technical education be given to the Africans, and show a disposition to resist the giving of grants to those schools where this is not done. The resolutions of the Conference suggest that in general technical education should be given in government schools.

In the government workshops as many as 600 young Africans may be gathered, and one form of service that might well be undertaken by the missions is to maintain welfare work among them.

Not Europeans only but Africans have their views on education. In South Africa particularly, where for many years the same syllabus was in operation for both Whites and Blacks, the Natives, as Dr Loram told the Conference, are opposed to differentiation. When he tried to convince them of the drawbacks of the old system they replied: 'If it is good enough for you, it is good enough for us.' This, Dr Loram thought, was an entirely wise instinct. 'If I were a Native,' he said, 'I would look very closely into any attempt to differentiate. If there are two ends of a stick and there is to be any differentiation, you may be quite sure he will get the dirty end.' How are we to persuade the Blacks that the New Education is the better while the Whites cling to the old? Perhaps one day we shall decide that Dr Jones's ideal of education is the best for Whites as well as for Blacks He at any rate makes no differentiation, but advocates the adoption of his system by all. If it is accepted now by the Blacks and in the future by Whites, then it will one day mean the levelling of the education of Europeans up to that of Africans—the Africans may lead the way in a great educational reform.

In all that has been said, boys and girls are intended—girls as

well as boys. This needs saying, because girls are apt to be overlooked, and to educate girls on proper lines is quite as important as to educate boys on proper lines. Fuller development of girls' education is urgently needed. It involves, among other things, the gradual creation of an adequate staff of female inspectors of schools. The Conference suggested that the International Missionary Council should set up a Commission to help and advise persons engaged in the education of women and girls.

Religious Education

ON the subject of Religious Education the Conference declared itself as follows :

> The need for giving to Africa an education which is based upon religion, and which in all its parts is infused with religion, is vital to the missionary cause. It is also one of the chief reasons why both Governments and missions are convinced that missionary co-operation is essential in the education of Africa. This being so, it is obvious that the missionary body must see to it that the religious instruction and practice of its schools is raised to the highest possible level of efficiency.

This last sentence implies that religious education in mission schools falls short of the highest level of efficiency. This was recognized in the discussion which took place in the educational section of the Conference. Speakers were frank and trenchant in their remarks. The article contributed to the Africa number of *The International Review* by Mr J. W. C. Dougall (described by Dr Garfield Williams as one of the ablest articles ever printed in the Review [1]), the memoranda collected from many experienced missionaries, and the speeches at the Conference, all reveal that there is a widespread dissatisfaction with the present position.

The main criticisms may be summed up as follows. First, that missionaries have in general not defined what they mean by religious education. Second, that they do not know how to teach the class subjects of religious instruction. 'In the teaching of religion,' said Dr Garfield Williams, 'teachers seem to rely upon either the inspiration of the moment or a technique which they would laugh at if applied to any other subject. Some of the catechetical instruction I have evidence of is from the educationalist's point of view a sheer atrocity and I simply cannot believe that it is justified

[1] 'Religious Education,' pp. 493–505.

by results.' A third criticism is levelled against the teaching of Scripture, chiefly that it is not taught in such a way as to produce adequate thought and application on the part of the learner. 'I have formed the view,' said Dr Garfield Williams, 'that our teaching of the Bible must receive an altogether new orientation, which so far from displacing it from the centre of religious instruction will place it there with a new firmness and finality by connecting it by innumerable strands with the whole circumference of life. This, it seems to me, will only come when men teach the Bible as the record of the progressive revelation of God, and not as a text book for reading, and when they relate its message to life as it is, and the duties of the time and place in which they teach it.' Fourth, that religious instruction lacks expression in deed. 'I feel,' said Dr Garfield Williams again, 'that the danger of lip service to the Christian ethic and of mere credal affirmation of the Christian religion is more serious in Africa than in any other part of the world. . . . The schoolmaster who succeeds in helping his boys to the immediate translation of vision into service is he who alone provides a Christian education.' A fifth criticism has to do with the sphere of worship—we are neglecting to teach Africans how to worship.

The Conference was convinced that the whole subject needs to be thought out afresh. It asked the International Missionary Council to set up a Commission to survey the whole field of religious education in Africa and to advise the various missionary societies thereon. It made some suggestions as a starting-point for the Commission's deliberations; these may be read on page 113.

In Government Schools. As we have already mentioned, the British Advisory Council declared that 'the greatest importance must be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects.' Dr Loram, who knows, spoke for South Africa: 'I say quite boldly that there is as good a presentation of the teaching of Jesus in many of the government schools as in many of the mission schools.' Other members of the Conference were unable to say this concerning the government schools which they knew in other parts of Africa. The Conference expressed the view that it is essential that adequate provision should be made in government schools and curricula for sufficient time for religious instruction during school hours, and particularly for the training of the teacher to give such instruction.

The Medium of Instruction

PERHAPS on no subject was there more division of opinion among members of the Conference than on that of the medium of instruction. One view was clearly and forcibly expressed by Mr Wilkie :

> If education is the opening up of a way of life, it follows inevitably that the medium of instruction must be the vernacular. The soul of a people is enshrined in their language, and it is futile to expect to awaken to life the soul of any child through a medium other than the mother tongue. Yet this is perhaps one of the most common mistakes even in mission schools ; and then one hears comments upon the slowness of the African child to acquire knowledge, the dullness of their minds and their painful lack of imagination. Most of us can recall the criticisms of certain inspectors in reports on the failure of teachers to get the children to think, and of the parrot-like replies of the pupils, the inspector having used throughout, even in the infant classes, the English language. I have often thought what a rotten show I should have made had I been examined in general knowledge, in nature study, or in any other subject, through the medium of Russian or Greek, or even French ! The examiner would certainly have reported : ' General knowledge deficient ; power of thinking undeveloped ; imagination almost totally absent ; intelligence very low.' How ludicrous it all is, and yet how pathetic ! It is more than that—it is a crime, for it is starving the soul and the life of the child.

Mr Wilkie and those who thought with him were quite aware of the difficulties—those caused by the multiplicity of African languages and the impossibility of preparing literature in all of them—but from the purely educational standpoint his arguments cannot be controverted. Carried to a logical conclusion, they mean that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction all through.

On the other side, arguments of a different nature were brought forward. The African wants to learn English—indeed this is chiefly why he clamours for education. Dr Loram stated : ' The black people will finally say, We want to be taught in English and not in the vernacular.' They know that the key to the attainment of the white man's power lies in the white man's language. Any attempt to adopt the vernacular as the medium of instruction would meet with the strong opposition of certain classes of literate Africans who would feel that the door of opportunity was slammed in the face of their children. Moreover, English is in some regions the language

of Government and commerce, and the African who does not know English is placed at great disadvantage—he is at the mercy of unscrupulous white men. So strongly do Africans feel on the subject that if their mother tongue were made the basis of education they would open private schools for the teaching of English. For all British subjects to know English would provide a bond of union ; whereas perpetuation of the many vernaculars is the surest way of maintaining the disunion of African tribes. If English is to be learned thoroughly it is not sufficient to teach it as a foreign language, say, as French is taught in English schools ; it cannot be begun too early, and it must be introduced in the primary stage not merely as a subject of study but as the medium of instruction, so that the pupils may constantly hear it and practise it. The majority of pupils never enter secondary schools, and therefore, unless English is taught in this way in elementary schools and not reserved for advanced scholars, a class distinction will be created—some will know English and some will not. Furthermore, if the vernacular is to be the medium of instruction missionaries must know it thoroughly, but some African languages are so difficult that it may take two or three years to learn them—and the pressure of work is so great that missionaries cannot all give the time to it.

As the Conference was so often reminded, British Africa is not all Africa. People who use the arguments just enumerated can point to the example set by the French, who in their colonies teach their language and use it, to the exclusion of the vernacular. They should remember, however, that eminent French authorities have revolted against this policy.

The question still remains, and is a difficult one to answer in some parts of Africa : which language ? There are perhaps a thousand languages and dialects in Africa, some of them spoken by very few people. To perpetuate them all in literary form is impossible, and undesirable. The investigation to be carried out by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures will help towards solving the problem. Meanwhile the Conference was quite aware that it is not always practicable to give full effect to the principle that all children should be taught through the medium of their mother tongue ; where this has an extremely small range the language of a neighbouring, and closely akin, large group may with advantage be adopted in its place, always provided that it be acceptable to the people. ' No attempt,' the Conference declared,

' should be made to impose upon larger language groups any African so-called lingua franca.'

Vernacular Literature

THE more the Conference insisted upon the use of African languages, both in education and in evangelization, the more it was forced to face the inadequacy, both in quantity and quality, of the literature which is available. A section of the Conference considered this subject, under the leadership of Professor Westermann, and its report, printed on page 116, should be read in connexion with the Rev. C. E. Wilson's article in the Africa number of *The International Review of Missions.*[1]

When we speak of the inadequacy of the literature we ought always to acknowledge the magnitude of the task that missionaries have accomplished. It is to their credit chiefly that so many unwritten languages have been reduced to literary form. The Bible, or at least some portion of the Bible, has been translated into 243 of the languages spoken in Africa.[2] Of these the British and Foreign Bible Society has published 180. Other books have been printed in 190 of these languages. When all the circumstances are considered, the missions have reason to be proud of what they have done ; but the inadequacy remains. In only 17 of the 190 languages are there more than 25 books ; more than half of them have less than five. There is many a tribe whose whole literature could be carried in a lady's pocket handkerchief. And it must be said that many of the books are of inferior quality.

Dr Westermann told the Conference :

> I know that there are missions in Africa which have prepared good literature in the vernacular, but, believe me, this state of perfection has not been reached everywhere. It is not a matter of writing a book in the language, but of writing one which will be read by the African and be of service to him. There are books which are not liked and therefore are not read. We are apt to be too hasty in writing, and then fall into the danger of not using the real vernacular, and so of helping to destroy its genius. The content of the book is not always what it should be. Some books are altogether poor—they live in a world which does not exist for the African. The style is sometimes so difficult that not even the African with all his patience is able to read it. We cannot be surprised that

[1] ' The Provision of a Christian Literature for Africa,' pp. 506–14.

[2] A list will be found in *The Bible in the World*, September 1926.

Natives sometimes treat the results of our intelligence somewhat indifferently.

Mr Wilkie added his testimony :

The missions with which I have been associated in Africa have both laid great emphasis on the vernacular in schools, but even in these too scant attention has been given to the preparation of suitable up-to-date books. When I think of the thought and care devoted to the preparation of graded readers in English, for example, I am ashamed to think of the vernacular books which we continue to foist on the schools. Why, even the rat-sat-on-the-mat type of reader is a thrilling romance compared with some of the vernacular readers which we still regard as sufficient. The preparation of really first class books in the vernacular is one of our paramount duties and there is ample material for their construction—in the folk tales, the proverbs, in the tales of the courage of their own people, in the history and customs of the tribe, material to which every child will respond and the dull faces will become alert and the imagination kindled as they read. If we could only have series of such books, opposition to the use of the vernacular would rapidly disappear.

Miss C. E. Padwick, discussing literature for Muslims, said :

During the last decade it has been my peculiar good fortune to have under my hand practically the whole output of Christian literature written for Muslims. It has, whatever its source, a strange family likeness. The arguments of St Anselm and of the Plymouth Brother or the Maronite missionary of to-day are almost identical. The likeness is due to the fact that the literature has concerned itself with meeting arguments put forth by Islam. Islam has chosen the ground and the Church has accepted a challenge along certain lines of logical argument.

Now I say that Africa will need a new literature because it is not the old intellectual arguments of Islam that are winning the African. The reasons are warmer and more personal, and so must the literature be. The African becomes a Muslim from a right desire for social advancement, for the freedom of the great brotherhood. Also Islam as a way of worship, with its sonority, its simplicity, its dignity, makes an appeal to pagans who witness the Muslim prayers. Further, Islam as a more powerful magic, wielding the Great Name, and yielding kindly tolerance to all the lesser magics that have formed the world of religion so far, has an irresistible appeal.

We must seek, then, for creators of a new literature for the Church in Africa in face of Islam. Such a literature would set forth Christianity as the deeper and richer brotherhood ; it would meet superciliousness of the Muslim with the proud joy in the riches of our inheritance in Christ Jesus, with glorying in His Cross ; it would set forth Christianity as a way of

worship ; it would show our Lord as the Conqueror of the whole demon world, the Liberator from all magic sways.

The Conference was in cordial agreement with these views and called upon the missions to set themselves to the task of preparing more and better books. One step taken by the Conference was of great significance : it asked the Literature Committees of North America and Europe to consider the appointment of a full time officer or organizer of African Christian literature. Had the Conference done nothing else it would have been well worth while holding it.

CHAPTER VIII

TOWARDS A HEALTHY AFRICA

IN this chapter I propose to attempt a synthesis of the addresses delivered to the Conference by four medical men and one woman. Of these, Dr Louise Pearce is on the staff of the Rockefeller Institute, Dr Broden is Director of the School of Tropical Medicine in Brussels, Dr J. L. Gilks is Director of Medical and Sanitary Service in Kenya, Dr P. H. J. Lerrigo has travelled widely in Congo-land, and the Rev. Dr Garfield Williams was a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa. I combine their speeches and add information gathered from other reliable sources.

The Ravages of Disease in Africa

'I AM not going to speak of the ravages of disease in Africa. It doesn't bear thinking about,' said Dr Garfield Williams. Dr Broden began thus: 'Among the most distressing problems in the colonization of Central Africa, those of the health and hygiene of the Native population take the first place.'

Tropical Africa, we all know, is not a healthy place for Europeans. In addition to adverse climatic conditions they are exposed to various diseases, most of which are unknown in the temperate regions. The extent to which the Africans are afflicted is not sufficiently realized. If they sustain the tropical climate they certainly do not offer greater resistance than the white man to most of the tropical diseases. After being affected by malaria in their childhood they resist, it is true, infection to a large degree when they grow up; but on the other hand they present an exaggerated susceptibility to diseases of the respiratory tract—pneumonia, broncho-pneumonia and pulmonary tuberculosis find extremely favourable ground among them. In various regions of Central Africa sleeping sickness is a fearful scourge. Finally, syphilis, yaws and leprosy, which is very widely spread, constitute a most grave menace to the welfare of the Africans. The state of their health is very far from satisfactory. In England we were shocked to find during and after the war that a large part of our population was

classed 'C3.' 'Were we to apply the same standard of health to the Native population of Africa,' said Dr Gilks, 'it would be found to be somewhere towards the end of the alphabet.'

A very small proportion of Africans reach old age. Exact figures over a wide range are not available to support this assertion; but it is significant that in the townships of Southern Nigeria, where reliable statistics are recorded, only 79 per thousand are over fifty years of age, whereas in England and Wales the proportion is 160 per thousand.[1] At the other end of the scale, infant mortality is appallingly high. The latest returns show that in England, out of every thousand children born, 75 die before they are a year old. More than half the children born in Southern Nigeria fail to reach maturity.[2] Even in relatively civilized African towns such as Lagos and Accra the infant mortality varies from 350 to 483 per thousand. In Kenya it is estimated at over 400 per thousand, and perhaps that might be taken as the average figure for the whole continent.

In view of these gloomy facts, one is tempted to ask whether the black race is weaker than the white. 'I do not believe that from the physiological point of view,' said Dr Broden, 'one could answer in the affirmative.'

What, then, are the reasons for this terrible state of affairs?

When considering the subject we must, as Dr Garfield Williams pointed out, think of predisposing causes and of exciting causes. A white man goes to the West Coast, loses control of himself—goes, as we say, to pieces—succumbs to malaria, dies. The exciting cause of his death was a mosquito infected with the germ of malaria; the predisposing cause was his intemperance, or his lack of care, or poor food, or bad water. Both kinds of cause have to be taken into account. The problem of disease is not solved by tackling merely the exciting cause—the predisposing causes must be removed. The ill-health of Africans is due not only to the multifarious germs that flourish in the tropics, but also to the conditions under which the people live.

New Discoveries and Efforts

FORTUNATELY, in recent times the science of tropical medicine has made immense progress. 'When in 1900 I went to the Belgian Congo for the first time,' said Dr Broden, 'our

[1] P. Amaury Talbot: *The Peoples of Southern Nigeria*, vol. iv. p. 147.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

knowledge of colonial medicine was very small. The mode of transmitting malaria had recently been discovered; we knew some helminthiases and leprosy, and that was about all. Less than ten years later a large part of our deficiency in knowledge had been made up.'

Dr Broden produced some remarkable figures to show how the application of these discoveries has brought about a diminished mortality, so far as the Europeans in Belgian Congo are concerned. In 1900 the death-rate was about 84 per thousand (accurately, 8·393 per cent); in 1924 it was not more than 13½ per thousand (1·352 per cent). The decrease is the more remarkable in view of the fact that at the earlier date the Europeans in the Congo were almost entirely men in the prime of life, whereas during the last fifteen years men past fifty, as well as many women and children of all ages, have been included.

Other parts of Africa have a similar tale to tell. Mr Ormsby-Gore, in his recent report on West Africa, says that the risk of malaria in the main centres is becoming less and less every year owing to the application of the new discoveries. 'The result of these measures, of sanitation generally, of improved houses and of wider knowledge of the causes of disease, are reflected in the death rate of the European officials, which has fallen from 20·6 per thousand in 1903 to 12·8 per thousand in 1924, while the invaliding rate has dropped from 65·1 to 21·7 per thousand in the same period.' [1]

But not white men only have benefited by the new knowledge; a bright day of hope has dawned also for the Africans. The diseases which for ages have been, and still are, such dreadful scourges have been studied with a patience, an enthusiasm and a success that evoke our warmest gratitude. It is true, as Dr Broden confessed, that 'our ignorance of the exact nature of many of the tropical diseases and their mode of transmission favoured their extension by the progress of civilization.' In other words, the opening up of the continent by Europeans led to the spread of disease. In the old days Africans could not travel far from their homes as they can do now that peace and ordered government have been established. The demands for labour have led to the movement of great numbers of men who carry disease from place to place. In addition to this, Europeans have introduced diseases—tuberculosis, for example.

[1] *Report by the Hon. W. G. A. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., on his Visit to West Africa during the Year 1926*, pp. 59, 60.

In these respects conditions have been worsened by the influx of civilization. But over against this lamentable fact must be placed the new discoveries and the strenuous efforts now being made to rectify past errors and to grapple with disease.

Great progress is being registered in many directions. Take, for example, sleeping sickness, the extension of which, Dr Broden thinks, 'is the most difficult point concerning the future of the Bantu tribes of Central Africa.' 'A few years ago,' he said, 'with atoxyl and emetique we could only cure victims of this illness in the first stage. Since then, thanks to tryparsamide, many invalids in an advanced stage of the disease have been cured. The use of this new medicine has been an excellent means for us to penetrate the regions infected by the tsetse fly and to bring the Natives to us. The experiments with Bayer 205, or germanine, are not yet complete; we know that this drug is most powerful in its effects and can cure in a few days some invalids in the first stage, but patients in an advanced stage can derive, in general, only a passing benefit. The prophylactic action of Bayer 205 is being studied, and it is very likely that in the near future people may be protected against the trypanosome by a few injections.'

Armed with the new knowledge and the new drugs the doctors are making a most determined onslaught upon African diseases. Readers of this book should not fail to read the extracts from Dr Broden's paper printed on pages 142–146. They will gather from these something of the work being done by the Belgians. Could we collect in this volume an account of what the French and British Governments are doing, it would provide a thrilling narrative.

I need not dwell upon what the missions are doing, for this subject has been dealt with by Dr Lerrigo in the Africa number of *The International Review of Missions*.[1]

Prevention Better than Cure

THIS is all excellent, but more needs to be done. To make frontal attacks on disease by means of hospitals and dispensaries is good, but it is only part of the campaign. Those predisposing causes of disease to which Dr Garfield Williams referred must be attacked also. And it is here that missionaries can render a service to Africa that nobody else can render so effectively.

[1] 'The Ministry of Health and Welfare Work,' pp. 515–32.

This is how Dr Gilks put it :

We are not going to improve the general state of public health in Africa by building more hospitals. Even if we were called upon to build all the hospitals needed we could not get the funds. I cannot even guess at the figure which would have to be expended if we were to try and provide that hospital accommodation. The proper way to go on, the most economic way, is to prevent people getting sick. It is a most uneconomic plan of campaign to spend time and money in erecting hospitals if your patients are going to fall ill again, as they so often do, when they are discharged from hospital and return to the insanitary conditions which were the original cause of the disease. I do not want you to run away with the idea that I am decrying hospitals. We must have more hospitals and they must be properly staffed and equipped ; but that is not going to be enough. We must get down to a public health programme.

Food. Dr Gilks and Dr Broden stated the two basic factors which undermine the African's health. There may be others, peculiar to certain districts, but these are of general application. They are very simple : (1) the bad food supply ; (2) bad housing. Dr Broden mentioned also the insufficiency of Native clothing. And behind all these things there is ignorance.

Both the doctors were insistent upon the food supply. 'All those who have lived in Central Africa,' said Dr Broden, 'recognize that in general the Negro is underfed, that his alimentary ration of animal albumin is often insufficient.'

You know as well as I do [said Dr Gilks] that an underfed man is not an economic member of society. He cannot pull his weight, his physical and mental capacities are stunted and blunted, and he offers no resistance to disease. We must consider the food supply both as to its quantity and its quality. As regards quantity : the food supply goes in a series of circles ; after harvest there is plenty, and mainly because their means of storage are primitive in a large number of instances there is a certain amount of shortage before the next harvest is gathered. When drought happens the shortage makes itself apparent sooner. As regards quality : a proper diet has to contain certain essential elements roughly in certain proportions. We Europeans make sure of getting these essential elements by having a very mixed diet—we eat fish, vegetables and so on. The Africans—at any rate those of the Kenya tribes—have not this varied diet. Meat is short in some places. One of our biggest tribes is practically vegetarian ; it hardly ever eats meat. Many tribes who own cattle never kill them for food. Mr Ormsby-Gore said when he was in East Africa : 'I think the goat ought to be demonetized.' I

entirely agree with him. Not only ought it to be demonetized, it ought to be eaten. There are other factors which enter into this question very largely but about which nobody has any really authoritative information. I think it is a matter of the mineral constituents of food, and within the next few years we hope to understand more about it. I have shown you that the food supply is not satisfactory. How are we going to better it? You can tackle the problem largely by means of education.

Housing. On the need of better houses, Dr Gilks continued:

The African hut is about the most insanitary kind of dwelling you can possibly imagine. It is dark; it has no fresh air in it; the walls are of mud where every kind of insect can harbour, and there is a thatched roof where every kind of rat lives. We ourselves have taken sixty-three rats out of one hut after an outbreak of plague. The problem is to see that the Native gets better housing. Some of you may say this is beyond solution; but it is not—we have at any rate begun to solve it. The important thing is that the Natives should build the better houses for themselves. There is no question of a government housing scheme. And to persuade Natives to build houses for themselves is not a simple matter. You have to reach a point where the African wants better houses. For various reasons the majority do not want them. Here education comes in again. Then you have to put the Africans in an economic position which will allow them to buy certain things like hinges for doors and windows. You have to make it possible for them to obtain timber, which does not now exist in some districts. You have got to train men so that they have the technical skill to do the building. All the forces that act on the African must be brought to bear on him so that he shall be persuaded to build sanitary houses.

Ignorance. Behind these things, diet and housing, there is the African's ignorance of the laws of health. This is the biggest of all. When you see a mother stuffing thick porridge into the mouth of her baby, slinging it on her back in a deer-skin and going thus to work in the hot sun, and then uncovering the child's perspiring body in a cool breeze—it is not that she lacks mother-love, it is sheer ignorance. When a man suffering from a tumour tells you that a ghost caused it by breathing on him; when—but if we should catalogue the strange notions of Africans about disease this book would not contain them all. The ignorance is profound, pitiful. And how are we to remove it? And how are we to overcome the conservatism which in Africa, as in Europe, resists all endeavours to bring about better modes of life?

One means, the most effective of all, is in our hands: the school.

What Missionaries can do

ON this subject Dr Garfield Williams spoke with a forceful directness that brought the missionary's responsibility and opportunity home to all his hearers.

Missionaries [he said] have to-day a specific for the diseases of Africa that they are not using. I want you to ask yourselves what you would feel if after having discovered, say, a cure for cancer you kept that cure to yourself, or refused to allow it to be used except for people who could afford to pay for it. You could hardly find sufficient adjectives to describe yourself under those circumstances. At anyrate, you would not suggest that you were a particularly Christian person. I want to suggest that all Christian missionaries have in their hands a weapon, a perfectly sure weapon, for the destruction of disease in Africa, and that they are not using it. Why not ? That is the question we have to ask ourselves. The weapon is the mission school. It might be made the basis of all attack on disease in Africa to-day.

Dr Gilks talked about the things that matter. Who is going to tackle them ? The doctors ? Only partially. They may find out the causes of disease, but even there they are dependent on local knowledge. Be clear on that point. The great task that men like Dr Gilks are out to do can only be done after a survey of local conditions carried out by men and women living on the spot. Unless they get that kind of help they cannot plan effectively for the public health. There the missionaries can render service. And once the plan is framed it cannot be put into operation apart from the schools. These little schools scattered over wide areas are an instrument that can be used for stamping out disease. And not to use them is unchristian. Surely a man is less than Christian if he does not use the weapon that is in his hand for this purpose. More and more I have felt since travelling in Africa that we as a missionary body have failed in not using the means that God has given us for the destruction of disease. To preach the Gospel through the schools and not to allow it to find expression in this way, is simply not the real thing.

Does a person exist to-day who imagines that our Christian duty is done when we have proclaimed the Good News of God ? Or rather, does anyone think that the Good News of God is news only of a future heaven ? We have sadly misread the New Testament if we do not see that the religion of Christ has to do with the whole man—with *here* and *now* ; and that men and women with diseased, unnourished bodies cannot be God's idea of what they should be. Health—what is health ? Far more than the absence of ill-health.

It is a positive thing. Health means the seeing eye, the hearing ear, the clever nimble hand, the strong right arm, the swinging step, quick wits, a clear head ; it means too a happy buoyant heart.[1] The body is a temple to be kept clean and sweet and holy to be an abode of the Divine Spirit. Unless we are making it possible for the Africans to have a healthy soul in a healthy body we are doing less than our Master intended us to do.

Conclusions

A STRONG section of the Conference considered fully the subject of health and Native welfare. Its recommendations, endorsed by the full Conference, will be found on pages 119 to 121.

The Conference clearly recognized that the health of a people must depend ultimately upon education conducted along sound lines. In the schools, particularly village schools, the machinery already exists whereby the teaching and practice of the laws of hygiene and personal cleanliness can be imparted. If the ideal of the school as a community centre, outlined in a previous chapter, can be attained, lessons learned at school will be carried into practice, under the teachers' direction and inspiration, in homes and villages; new foodstuffs will be introduced, insanitary surroundings will be cleaned up, and better methods of building exhibited. Education along these lines can be carried further at the centres of higher education. It should include the elements of mother-craft, first aid and the care of the sick. If these suggestions are to be carried out, Native teachers must be trained in all these subjects.

Nothing said in this chapter must be taken as minimizing the importance of hospitals, dispensaries, doctors and nurses. Fully qualified medical men and women should be multiplied, and well-equipped hospitals and maternity homes staffed with nurses should be established wherever possible. The foreign medical staff of the Governments and the missions, even when supplemented by partially qualified missionaries, will never be able to cope with the huge task with which we are confronted in Africa. The Conference expressed its belief that the need for medical and welfare workers must be met from among the African peoples, and urged that efforts

[1] I take this sentence from Dr W. E. Henderson's address at the Southport Church Congress, 1926.

should now be put forth to increase as rapidly as possible the number of trained African workers of all types. Some missions have already taken the matter in hand. Where missionaries cannot at present train these men and women they can at least be on the look out for suitable candidates and arrange for their training in government institutions. Doctors who wish to have such students complain of the difficulty in securing young men of sufficient general education ; the missions should be able to provide them. The Conference saw that the time is coming for the provision of institutions capable of giving a complete medical training to Africans. With the strong support of Dr Louise Pearce a recommendation was sent to the International Missionary Council to consult with the missionary boards regarding the desirability of establishing an international advisory board.

Finally, the Conference assured the various Governments that they can count upon the missionary societies to render all possible assistance in the forwarding of any particular measures of public health which it is desirable should be carried out.

CHAPTER IX

LAND AND LABOUR IN AFRICA

ECONOMIC questions received more attention at Le Zoute than at any previous missionary conference. No apology was offered, nor was any apology necessary, for their prominence. The problems of an economic kind which arise from the invasion of Africa by Europeans are so numerous and so perplexing that they must challenge consideration whenever men meet to discuss the development of the continent. These are human problems, involving the fate of a large proportion of the race and the doing of justice between man and man; their omission would stultify the programme of any conference called to consider the Christian Mission in Africa. The amount of time devoted to them was amply justified.

The resolutions, as endorsed by the Conference, will be found on pages 121–2.

Let us remind ourselves of some of the elementary facts of the situation.

Some Elementary Facts

AFRICA (including Madagascar) covers an area of 11,660,000 square miles. That is to say, it occupies a space nearly three times the size of Europe, nearly four times that of the United States of America. It has never been possible to count the population accurately, but an estimate of 130,000,000 is probably fairly correct. It is a small figure in comparison with Europe and Asia. Africa contains only about a third of the number of people who live in Europe. British Africa is over thirty times the size of the United Kingdom, but its population is approximately equal to that of the United Kingdom. The British Empire in Asia has much more than twice the total number of people in Africa. The French Empire in Africa is over twenty times the size of France, but contains four millions less inhabitants. The Belgian Congo, which covers 910,000 square miles, has a population of about 7,000,000, while Belgium, one-eightieth its size, has as much. Birmingham contains more people than Basutoland, which is twice the size of Yorkshire. There

are more people in Liverpool than in the whole of Northern Rhodesia, which is five times the size of England and Wales. Spread over the whole continent the population of Africa averages about eleven persons to the square mile. Vast areas covered by deserts, lakes, high mountains and tsetse-infested forests, are uninhabited. But even when full allowance is made for this fact the continent is very sparsely inhabited. In parts of Kavirondo, bordering on Lake Victoria, 1100 persons, it is said, are crowded to the square mile ; in the Delta of the Nile, 939 to the square mile ; in some districts of Southern Nigeria, 300 to the square mile. But these are quite exceptional. Kenya and Tanganyika have only eleven persons to the square mile, and there are some regions which are inhabited by less than one person to the square mile.

These facts are not irrelevant ; they have an important bearing on the economic position, both as regards land and labour.

It must further be borne in mind that Africa is proved to be an enormously valuable country—potentially, at least. Its worth varies considerably, but while some areas are comparatively valueless others are superlatively rich in agricultural and mineral resources. The more advanced countries are increasingly feeling the need of both raw materials for their factories and of such foodstuffs as only the tropics can supply. They are also looking for customers who shall purchase their manufactured goods. The eyes of the world are turning more and more towards Africa in the well-founded belief that she can supply both products and markets.

Great Britain is by no means the only country that has a direct interest in the development of Africa. France and Belgium look to their colonies as Britain looks to hers. The whole of Europe, and in some degree America, India and Japan, are concerned in the matter. Already, though the development is only in its initial stages, the trade with Africa has increased by leaps and bounds. In 1876 it was not worth more than £60,000,000 ; in 1926 it was not less than £600,000,000.

Development of Resources

HOW can the valuable resources of Africa be made available for the world ? Left to themselves the Africans neither could nor would do it. By themselves the Europeans cannot do it. The African is not the lazy person so many people make him

out to be. He cultivates sufficient soil to supply the needs of his family and himself; he smelts iron and copper, in some regions he weaves cloth from indigenous cotton, he trades with his neighbours. But apart from the stimulation given to him by Europeans and Arabs he has never thought of cultivating crops for export; nor has he mined the gold and diamonds lying beneath the soil. Under the conditions in which he lived he could not be expected to develop overseas trade. For one thing, almost the only means of transport was human porterage, a most wasteful and, in respect to large quantities, an utterly impracticable form. Suppose a man living a hundred miles from a market were to harvest a thousand pounds of maize over and above the needs of his family for a year; carrying fifty pounds at a time it would take him, with some rest between his journeys, six months to transport it to market. This simple fact alone proves the impossibility of expecting the Africans to develop unaided the resources of their country. Moreover, they have no desire of themselves to do it. As for the Europeans, they settle in the healthy regions and establish mines and farms. Where they cannot make homes they secure large concessions of land and make plantations which are run by white overseers and skilled mechanics. But in either case they do not work in the manner of colonists in Canada and Australia. They depend upon the manual labour of the Africans.

The economic development of the resources of Africa can, under present conditions, only be accomplished by the co-operation of Black and White. The Whites find the capital for the railways and build them largely by means of the black man's strength. They instruct and supervise Native labourers. Where the Natives are taught and encouraged to cultivate economic crops for exportation, white men act as middlemen, transporting and shipping the products—the cotton from Uganda, the cocoa from the Gold Coast, the ground nuts and palm oil from Nigeria, and so forth.

We can now begin to see the nature of the problems which inevitably arise when peoples of superior power and culture invade a land inhabited for the most part by uncivilized people. The Whites do not in general go to Africa for the good of their health, nor are they, as a rule, led there by altruistic motives for the benefit of the Africans. They seek homes and a livelihood. They hope to enrich themselves and, in the case of companies, their shareholders, by placing the products of Africa upon the markets of the

world. Above all else they demand two things : Land and Labour. If they care to use it, they possess the power which superior armaments give them to deprive the Natives of their land and to compel them to work for the white man's benefit ; and in the past this power has been often used with ruthless cruelty. There are still men who would not scruple to use it, but strong restraining hands are laid upon them. It has to a large degree been realized that a point is easily reached where such a policy overreaches itself—the goose dies that laid the golden eggs. Moreover, a loftier ethical ideal has come in to rule the conduct of white men towards the weaker peoples. The principle of trusteeship has become widely recognized. It is seen that the mandate of civilization is dual, not single ; it does not end with the development of material resources, but concurrently demands that the good of the Native peoples is to be sought. This conception alters the nature of the necessary co-operation ; it is no longer the collaboration of master and slave—a very unequal partnership in which all the rewards fall to the master. Justice must be done, as between man and man.

Some Questions about Land

CONSCIENCE is a disturbing monitor. It asks many questions. It prompts us to enquire whether our dealings with the African could be justified at the bar of God's judgment.

Here are some of the questions to which we want an answer.

We know that Africa is sparsely populated ; does it contain unoccupied areas to which no tribe lays claim ? Are there tracts of fertile land in healthy districts which Europeans can take without infringing any Native rights ?

What is the nature of the tenure by which Africans hold their lands ? Do they recognize ' ownership ' in land in the sense we use the word ? According to their customary law can they alienate land so that it becomes the absolute property of the purchaser or grantee ?

How do Europeans acquire land in Africa ? If Africans have no power, by customary law, to alienate land, can so-called sales of land to Europeans be legally recognized by ourselves ? Does conquest confer upon Europeans the right to seize all or any of the land of the conquered people ? Do treaties made with Native chiefs conferring sovereign rights upon Europeans substantiate the Euro-

peans' claim to all the land—when the chiefs had no intention, and no power, to confer such a right ? Does international agreement made in Europe delimiting spheres of influence in Africa give any one of the Governments concerned the right to call the Africans' land its own ? Is a proclamation or other legislative act made by Europeans, without the Africans knowing it, sufficient to transfer land from the tribal owners to the European Government ? When a Government proclaims a protectorate over peoples, professedly for their good, has it the right thereafter, without the peoples' consent, to plant its flag into the soil and assume possession of the land ?

Does the European Government delimit lands for exclusive occupation by Natives ? Are the lands fertile and watered, and adequate for the needs of the people ? Is any provision made for a time when these reserves will become overcrowded ? Is the land sufficiently extensive to accommodate the entire tribe, or is it split up and European farms introduced in between ? What guarantee have the Natives that their lands will not be encroached upon ? Are they granted a title such as could be defended against any aggressor in a court of law ? Is the land invested in trustees for the Natives ? Has it been made impossible for a legislative assembly composed of European members to take any part of the land and hand it to fellow-Europeans ?

If the land remains in the hands of the Natives does the Government protect them against their own folly if they wish to sell, lease or mortgage the land ?

When land is alienated by the Government, what becomes of the Natives who occupied it ? Are they merely driven off to find new homes for themselves, or are they given other land as good ? Do they receive any compensation in money or kind ? If they are allowed to remain on the land, do they have to pay rent to the new proprietor, work for him—or both—and thus become virtually his serfs ?

Some Questions about Labour

SUCH questions as these may be asked about land, and others again about labour.

Are the Natives free to choose between working on their own lands and leaving the reserves to earn wages from European employers ? To what extent is compulsory labour demanded by

Government for public purposes, such as roadmaking, railway construction and porterage of stores ? Does the Government compel Natives to work for private persons ? Does it exercise any species of persuasion upon the chiefs to induce them to send their men out to work ? Are the peoples taxed for the purpose of compelling them to work for foreigners ? Is a tax in the form of labour levied on all males over a certain age ? If so, is it commutable by a cash payment ? Are women and children, as well as men, called out for forced labour ? What kinds of forced labour are paid for, and at what rates ? What methods of recruiting are in practice with the sanction of Government ? Are contracts of labour strictly examined by responsible officials ? For what periods are the contracts allowed ? How far have labourers to travel to the place of employment ? How are they cared for on the road ; are rest-houses, rations and medical attendance provided ? What happens to men who fall sick on the road, far from their homes ? Are the farmers and other employers amply supplied with labour ? How do they treat their men ? What wages are paid ? Are they paid in cash, or partly in goods ? Are the rations adequate, in quantity and in dietetic quality ? How are the men housed ? Is medical attendance provided when necessary ? Are employers allowed to inflict corporal punishment ? If so, to what extent ?

What effect has the employment of Natives upon the domestic and tribal life ? What proportion of the adult males can be taken away for lengthy periods without causing a fall in the birth rate and demoralization of their families ? To what extent are diseases spread by labourers who travel long distances from home ? What proportion of them return to their villages ? Are they better and more efficient tribesmen for their experiences ? If they have learnt better methods of agriculture from their employers, do they put them into practice on their own lands ? Are they as amenable to their chiefs as before they went away ? Do they build improved houses ? How many drift away to the towns, what do they do there, and under what conditions do they live ?

These are questions which ought to concern great numbers of people : the shareholders in companies which draw dividends from African mines and plantations and commercial enterprises ; people who enjoy the products of African labour—these cannot remain indifferent to the conditions under which the labourers work. From a purely business point of view, apart from all the humanitarian

sentiments with which we credit them, every person who has an interest in the development of Africa should seek answers to such questions. The amount of profits gained, the quantities of raw materials imported into the homeland and of manufactured goods exported to Africa, depend ultimately upon the well-being and contentment of the Africans : destroy the population by inhumane treatment, and who will provide labour ? To Christian men and women, who regard human beings as more valuable in themselves than anything they produce, questions as to land and labour appeal particularly ; and they ought not to rest content till they receive satisfactory answers.

Land

MANY of these questions were asked at Le Zoute. Some were answered, and some were not, for there was no time for an exhaustive enquiry.

As a basis for its discussion on land the Economics Section of the Conference took the minutes of the Conference of the Governors of the British East African dependencies held at Nairobi in January and February, 1926. It will be well to quote here the decisions about land, if only to show how seriously responsible administrators approach this vital question.

The land of East Africa [say the Governors] may be divided into certain broad categories :

(*a*) First, there are those lands which, as jungle or forest or desert or swamp, or because of the inroads of human and animal disease or for other causes, were indubitably unoccupied and unclaimed at the time when our Government was established.

(*b*) Secondly, there are those lands to which there was only a doubtful claim, the ' lands of the spear,' where the cattle of hostile tribes grazed under warrior guard whenever grazing was scarce at home.

(*c*) Thirdly, there are the lands effectively occupied by a large and settled Native population.

This third category of land should clearly be reserved to its original Native owners. In the other two, sufficient land for their own use should be secured to the Native tribes originally sprinkled or wandering over it, but the rest is clearly the property of our Government, to develop in the manner which it considers most suitable and effective.

The following conclusions emerge therefore as to the right method of dealing with land :

(1) Wherever a Native population exists, sufficient land should be secured to it to afford full opportunity for economic stock breeding and dairying, or for the production of crops according as the tribal bent is for pastoral or agricultural pursuits.

(2) European colonization should be encouraged wherever the climate is suitable and adequate areas are available for settlement, without depriving the existing Native population of sufficient land for its own use.

(3) The area of land reserved for a Native tribe should be sufficient to accommodate the whole tribe together, so that where a tribal organization exists it may be preserved and improved; and that where none exists, some form of native institutions may be gradually developed.

(NOTE.—*The Governor of Tanganyika accepts these conclusions, subject to the following reservations: (A) The land policy of the Territory as defined in the Land Ordinance whereunder the land is vested in the Governor for the use and common benefit, direct or indirect, of the Natives, to remain unimpaired in every respect; (B) The Government of Tanganyika does not commit itself to the policy of Native Reserves, to which it is opposed.*)[1]

It is interesting to compare this important statement of policy with the resolutions adopted by the Le Zoute Conference. The latter went further than the Governors in asking, not only that the land should be sufficient but that it should be delimited and that the tenure should be made absolutely secure.

Conclusions. The Conference resolutions on Land accepted without explicit protest the *fait accompli*. They did not make any reflections upon the manner in which Native lands have been acquired. They did not definitely declare (as some of us would have liked them to declare) that the Natives do not exist in Africa on sufferance but have definite rights in the land. The resolutions are on page 121.

Labour

EVERYBODY who studies the subject will agree that the problems of land and labour are very closely linked together. In view of the European invasion the labour problem is the more vital of the two, so much so that eminent authorities speak of land questions as resolved ultimately into labour questions. Certainly they march hand in hand.

[1] The Conference was attended by the Governors of Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Uganda, Tanganyika Territory, the British Resident for Zanzibar, and the Civil secretary of the Sudan Government. The quotation is taken from p. 15 of the official report.

Missionaries agree with other people in their desire for the development of the resources of Africa. They desire it not only because of the benefits that will be conferred thereby on their fellow-countrymen, but also, and even more, because of the advantages it will bring to the Africans. One purpose of the Christian Mission aims at the building up of strong communities of industrious, economically independent communities living according to the precepts of the Christian religion, and such an ideal cannot be reached without the discipline of hard work,

'It is recognized, not only by missionaries but by administrators, that the future of the continent is bound up with the moral, physical and intellectual development of the African peoples.' The Le Zoute Conference expressed its economic faith in this sentence. Europeans of themselves cannot carry out that development. The Africans as they were, and still are to a very large extent, cannot carry it out. Only by a process of education—which includes work, but much more—can they be fitted to take their share in developing Africa. Physical and moral improvement of the African is a necessary condition of the economic development of the continent. When this is realized, the labour question is seen in true perspective.

There are two ways in which the African can make his contribution, so far as manual labour is concerned. He can be trained and encouraged to cultivate his own lands; or he can become a wage earner in the employment of the Europeans. The extent to which one or the other is possible depends on the degree to which the Natives have retained their lands, and that again depends largely upon climatic conditions. In West Africa, where the European cannot colonize, the Natives are learning to cultivate crops for export. They do the same in Uganda. The great advantage of this system is that the tribal life is not broken up. Moreover, in Africa as elsewhere, people will always produce more if they receive the full rewards of their labour. The immense crops of cocoa exported from the Gold Coast, and of cotton from Uganda, are the outstanding but not the only examples of what Africans can be induced to perform on their own lands.

But this system does not exclude the other—that of wage earning. Where Europeans settle they call for labourers. Then the question arises whether it is possible for both systems to exist side by side in the same territory. In Kenya the interesting experiment has been undertaken of what is called 'the dual policy,' a combination of

non-Native and Native production—or rather, a combination of production on Native lands, and by means of Native wage earners.

Upon one point great stress should be laid. The Native should be quite free to choose which form of work he will undertake. No measure of compulsion in the interest of private employers can be tolerated. The Governors fully recognized this, and expressly stated that the Native should be free 'to work in whichever way pleases and pays him best.'

The Economics Section of the Le Zoute Conference reviewed as far as it was able the conditions of labour in the various territories. It found them to vary very considerably in the degree of liberty accorded to the Natives, and in the treatment they receive as workers. Some of the conditions are shameful in the extreme.

In regard to compulsory or forced labour for private enterprises the Conference was deeply convinced that it is inadmissible in any circumstances. Certain members wished for an equally clear-cut decision in regard to forced labour for public purposes, but it was pointed out that there are occasions when it is of distinct advantage to the Natives themselves. The resolution then took this form :

> The Conference is also resolutely opposed to all forced labour for public purposes, the only exceptions being (*a*) when such compulsion is the only means of combating epidemics and floods and of dealing with similar national emergencies, and (*b*) reasonable communal labour in accordance with Native law and custom.

Finally, the Conference passed a resolution stating the need for further investigation, which will be found on pages 121–2.

CHAPTER X

CO-OPERATION IN AND FOR AFRICA

ONE afternoon an interesting sight was witnessed by a member of the Le Zoute Conference. Outside the hotel where the meetings were held, within view of the famous mole at Zeebrugge, two distinguished men sat at a small table engaged in an earnest discussion. One was Dr Westermann, a German, and the other M. Franck, a Belgian, and the subject of their talk was: 'What can we do for Africa?' At Le Zoute men and women of many nationalities—administrators, educationalists, doctors, linguists, missionaries—were all asking the same question, and in seeking an answer forgot the differences which on other subjects separated them. They realized a very considerable measure of unity in devotion to a common cause. They represented a much larger company, scattered over the broad continents of Africa, Europe and America, a dominant motive of whose varied service is summed up in the magic name of Africa.

Scarcely a speech at Le Zoute was complete without the words 'adaptation,' 'co-operation.' These were reiterated so frequently that at last speakers felt inclined to apologize for pronouncing them. We are here concerned with the second of these keywords, and our object is to point out some of the ways in which the term can be, and is being, translated into action.

The Conditions of Co-operation

M. DANIEL COUVE, in his impressive devotional address,[1] spoke of the four chief conditions of true co-operation. First: a clearer consciousness of our unity. Second: humility—'each privilege is simply a gift, and a gift is something for which it is our duty to be thankful, but which gives us no right to be proud.' Third: comprehension—the understanding of the other man's point of view, each trying to put himself in the other's place.

[1] Printed on p. 171.

Fourth: respect—'not pity for others' prejudices and narrowness, but respect—yes, respect—even when I fail to understand.'

Such principles penetrate deeply. If we could secure a full acceptance and practice of them by all who live in Africa, the Golden Age would dawn over the continent.

We want co-operation, but is it possible between people of different races, of different grades of civilization, of different degrees of attainment? Is it not practicable only between equals? It would be well to drop 'equality' from our discussions until we are sure what we mean by that many-sided word. Dr Jesse Jones, who is a Welshman by birth, put it rather neatly at Le Zoute.

> If you discuss the matter with Welsh people I suggest that you do not speak of 'equality' and 'inequality.' If it be said, 'You differ from English or Scots,' I will grant it instantly. I do not want to be told that I am not equal to anyone. I cannot stop your thinking it, if you wish to, but I do not want to be told it. In their approach to race questions, men are as a rule divided into two groups: the one believe that an impassable gulf divides one race from another; the other believe that we are all one and that there are no differences. There *are* differences and we want the differences to remain. It is no compliment to tell me that I ought to be an Englishman, and it is no compliment to an African to be told that he is French. He is an African and an African he should be content and proud to remain through life. We can make our contribution to humanity's well-being only by means of the qualities that God has given us. Differentiation should be made the basis, not of caste, but of mutual respect. Below all differences there is identity, for we are all children of God, members of the human family.

Unity—humility—comprehension—respect; if these are realized, full co-operation between White and Black becomes possible.

Inequality of attainment is no necessary barrier to co-partnership. In any education worth the name, there is co-operation between teacher and pupil, although one may be a highly trained university man and the other in an elementary standard. That great schoolmaster, Sanderson of Oundle, defined a school as 'a community of co-workers.' In their respective spheres the administrator, farmer and missionary may seem to stoop from a very much higher level when they try to teach the African. It appears so in the earliest stage particularly. There comes a point at which it is apparent that they work not *for* but ***with*** the African. And really it is true from the beginning; the only way of really doing anything *for* a

person is to do it *with* him. Dr Dillard, who has had a long experience of philanthropy, meant something like this when he said : ' I have become fully convinced that the laboratory method of teaching is by far better than the lecture method.'

One asks again, Is it necessary for effective co-operation that there should be identity of aim ? If I am invited by a friend to travel with him to York, is it sufficient reason for refusal that I want to go to Newcastle ? Surely not. I will go with him gladly as far as he goes, and then continue my journey. A Government may be alarmed by the progressive depopulation of the country, not because it cares for the bodies and souls of the people, but because the economic prospects suffer thereby. (I do not insinuate that all Governments are like that.) If I am invited to co-operate in medical and welfare work am I to refuse because my ideal is higher than the Government's ? No ; I will go with it as far as it goes—and farther. If Government and settlers share our educational ideals, all the better ; but if theirs are lower we should co-operate so far as they will go with us—and then go farther, hoping to carry them along with us. It is the direction and not the goal that is essential in co-operation. But let there be comprehension and respect on both sides.

We look out over Africa, so vast, so desperately in need of help in many ways. For her redemption she needs a great community of co-workers, united by a common interest in her.

An Illustration from America

AMERICA has much to teach Africa in this matter. We may take an illustration of our theme from the Southern States, borrowing directly and indirectly from the speeches made at Le Zoute by Dr Sage, Dr Hope and Mr Jackson Davis.

When the Negroes were set free after the Civil War they were in a most miserable condition, without homes, food, clothing and education. In response to a call for help a large number of white people gave their services, coming many of them from the best schools in the land and facing the odium and opposition of their fellows. In the course of years, the Negroes have increased largely in numbers and improved in character.

As a race [said Dr Hope], we have had reverses, not due altogether to our own shortcomings but also to the spirit of the ruling class which was not willing to accord the full citizenship which had been granted by the

amendments of the Constitution. We have lived through that and have not lost courage. We are hopeful and are breaking out by new ways into our larger citizenship. A people who can thus endure has no ugly spirit. We have faced it all with patience, and to-day are having between white and coloured people in the South such co-operation as has not existed before between the two races. The amazing thing about it is that it is an association not merely between old Negroes and old white people, but young white people and young Negroes are getting to the point where they too will sit down together to talk things over.

States which were impoverished by the Civil War built schools and some of them have now adopted the motto, ' An education for every child, black or white.' Three types of institution—' missionary, racial and governmental '—are working hand in hand for the uplifting of the Negroes. Several educational foundations—the Jeanes Fund, the Slater Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, the Phelps-Stokes Fund—are co-operating with the General Educational Board, the International Health Board, and others, in promoting the health and education of the Negroes. These private agencies assist the Government. Through personal contacts and study they satisfy themselves of the soundness of a project and put their money into such schemes as seem wise and promising of results. They do not supervise the work which remains under government control, and they withdraw as soon as the time is ripe. Dr Sage gave a concrete example of the co-operation which is proving so fruitful.

Here is a humble country school emerging to the stage of development that justifies its being called a college. Its graduates, in order to secure appointments in public schools, require special training which demands the building of a practice school. The resources of the authorities are limited and they inform various agencies of their needs. On a set day a meeting is held on the campus of this country school. The County Superintendent or his representative is there ; also the State Superintendent or his substitute to represent the Government of the locality. There are representatives of the Rosenwald Fund, which is concerned primarily with buildings ; of the Slater Fund, whose function is very largely the maintenance and encouragement of teachers ; of the General Educational Board ; and lastly of the school itself. It is shown to be necessary that a plot of land be deeded to the County or to the Government, on which the school can be built. It is done. It is made known that a certain amount of money, say 10,000 dollars, is required ; the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board and possibly one or two other agencies agree to co-operate in paying the cost of the building. The Slater Fund says through its representative, ' You will need a trained

teacher of the right kind, we will help you in that.' In two or three months, by the magic of co-operative effort, a building will arise and be equipped with all necessaries for the preparation of teachers for elementary or secondary schools.

International Co-operation

THE history of Africa during the last hundred years has afforded abundant evidence of the value of international co-operation. This is seen in the many congresses that have been summoned to deal with the slave trade, the liquor traffic, the sale of arms and so forth. Ideally, the partition of the continent means that the nations of Europe are engaged, not only in the development of the material resources of Africa but in the extension of the bounds of civilization. The Covenant of the League of Nations and the Permanent Mandates Commission are further examples of international co-operation. The Phelps-Stokes Commissions were composed of American, British and African experts. In fighting the diseases of Africa, Europe and America are working together again. The newly founded International Institute of African Languages and Cultures is the latest example of a partnership that will, if properly supported, be of singular service to all concerned. In another sphere there is the vast contribution made by the missions, whose several agents are drawn from many nationalities. Surely no country and no people in the world have been the object of such extensive international concern.

Governments, Colonists, Missionaries

OUR previous chapters have abundantly illustrated the fruitfulness and desirability of co-operation between Governments and missions in all that has to do with the well-being of the Africans, particularly in the fields of education and the promotion of health. We earnestly desire an intensification of this partnership.

Not less do we wish to see a closer drawing together of the non-official Europeans and the missionaries. Unfortunately there has too often been in the past an attitude of aloofness, if not of positive antagonism, between the two classes. Nobody who knows the facts would dare to say that the fault has been confined to one side. Each has been suspicious of the other. We are confident that the programme set forth in this volume will appeal to the sympathies,

and enlist the support, of a very large proportion of our fellow-countrymen in Africa. Missionaries, settlers and traders have a common interest in the well being of the Natives. Co-operation between Black and White is essential to economic development. Europeans cannot but profit by the growth of a healthy, contented, efficient Native population, and surely here is a field for co-operation. But we would not appeal in terms of material interest. We know that among the colonists there are men and women as keenly alive as any missionary to the highest welfare of the Africans. It is not always easy for employers to see beyond the exasperating habits of their workmen to their spiritual good. But many employers do look so far. Cannot colonists and missionaries draw closer together ? We should like to see a conference, or a series of conferences in Africa, at which representatives of these bodies would discuss all the problems frankly, face any differences that divide them and make a strenuous effort to come to an agreement. Here, as elsewhere, the keywords are, unity, humility, comprehension and respect—cannot these provide a basis for co-operation ?

Two aspects of this subject concern us here in particular.

One speaker at Le Zoute (the Rev. F. A. Rogers) rebuked the attitude of superiority and aloofness adopted by some of his fellow-missionaries towards traders and settlers. I would like to add a word of my own. It makes me uncomfortable to reflect how much is being done for the Africans, and how little for the Europeans. Do we always remember that these also have souls ? I know the difficulties. Missionaries are in most cases sent out to minister to the Africans and have little time to spare for their fellow-countrymen scattered in twos and threes over a wide area. I know also how much benefit the missionaries may derive from friendly contact with all classes of the community—officials, traders, farmers and so forth. Some of my pleasantest memories recall informal acts of worship which I have shared with two or three pioneers in a mud hut. My own experience has shown how possible it is for a missionary to live on terms of friendship with all members of a widely distributed community—with prosperous farmers and struggling Greek traders alike. If any of them are opposed to our work and indifferent to spiritual things, there is all the more reason for cultivating their friendship. We want to carry these men and women with us—their help might be invaluable.

The other matter was spoken of both by Sir Frederick Lugard

in full Conference and by Mrs E. B. Denham in a meeting of women at Le Zoute.

Sir Frederick Lugard said :

I am inclined to think that European ladies might take a larger share than at present in co-operating with agencies of progress, as, for example, by representing female education on Advisory Education Boards, organizing Girl Guides, and participating in medical institutions for maternity work and infant welfare.

Mrs Denham spoke of the importance of enlisting the interest and help of the wives of officials and settlers in the work of the missions, especially in the schools. These women often have leisure to give to work of this kind—to running Girl Guides, for instance, giving lessons in First Aid, homecraft and so on. They should be afforded an opportunity of helping and of getting to know the homes of Native women. They are often shy of offering their assistance, and need encouragement. Such organizations as the East African Women's League at Nairobi might, Mrs Denham thought, be approached on the subject.

Co-operation in Government

IN Chapter III. we referred to the doubts which have grown in the minds of administrators as to the desirability of imposing European institutions on Africans instead of developing the indigenous forms, and to the increasing degree to which local affairs are being entrusted to Native Councils. This is, indeed, one of the most significant of modern developments in Africa. It testifies to the growth of a real co-operation between Governments and Africans. The administrations have undertaken an educative enterprise on a large scale with the object of training the people in the arts of good government. In carrying it out they are working not merely *for*, but *with* the Africans.

By its encouragement of Native industry and by its careful fostering of what is best in Native institutions, Government is setting an excellent example of co-operation with the Africans.

The Case of South Africa

CO-OPERATION between Whites and Blacks is relatively easy in simple conditions such as exist in the Native territories ; it becomes a matter of the greatest difficulty in a land like

the Union of South Africa, where Europeans have settled in large numbers and are ambitious for it to be 'a white man's country.' The present position has been described from various points of view in the Special Africa Number of *The International Review of Missions*.[1] It was also brought before the Conference in addresses delivered by Professor W. M. Macmillan, of the Witwatersrand University (reported fully on pages 154–6), by Mr Max Yergan and by Dr C. T. Loram. African members contributed to the discussion which followed.

Dr Loram followed Professor Macmillan in pointing out that the present situation has its roots in the past history of South Africa. 'Our story has been one of wars, massacres and ill treatment, and these have engendered what we now have to face.' Dr Loram himself was born in a laager. In both these addresses an attempt was made to present fairly the case for the Europeans. Dr Loram indicated some of the benefits conferred by South African Governments on the Natives, instancing the Transkeian system of administration (described by Mr Welsh), the spending of sums running into millions on the improvement of Native quarters in urban areas, the bills now before Parliament 'releasing for Native occupation millions of acres of additional land' and creating 'a Native parliament where Natives will be able to express their views and where in course of time they will be able to administer their own taxes,' and finally the education, largely at public expense, of hundreds of thousands of Native children.

Mr Max Yergan spoke—with studied restraint—of the position of the Natives, of the European's fear of Native efficiency, of race prejudice. He pleaded that the African should be enabled to look to the future with hope. 'The black man is willing to co-operate. He possesses bigness of heart and generosity of soul. He has a large fund of patience, is capable of great endurance—and these, with his helplessness, should make an appeal to the white man's love of fair-play.' Looking round, Mr Yergan refused to despair. He knew the results achieved by the co-operation of Black and White in the Southern States—this showed him what can be done by co-operation. He, too, spoke of the Transkei. He could see, he

[1] *The South African Problem:* (1) by X; (2) by Dr J. du Plessis; (3) by D. D. Tengo Jabavu; pp. 344–89. *Social Conditions in Johannesburg*, by Dr F. B. Bridgman, pp. 569–83. Unfortunately Mr Yergan's manuscript has not reached us in time for inclusion, and we have only a few scrappy notes of his address, which some members considered the most impressive of all.

said, many signs of awakening conscience. He noted that the Colour Bar Bill had been twice rejected by the Senate, that the joint meeting of the two Houses had passed it only by a majority of sixteen, and that in both the Assembly and the Senate the leader of the opposition was Dutch. 'So we draw upon our reserve of patience and hope for the future.' He could see nothing to be done at present but trust in God, 'who must love the black man—He has made so many of us.'

Amid all the complexity of the situation, this much is clear—as Dr Philip saw, and as Professor Macmillan sees now—that the fundamental interests of White and Black are one. Dr Dillard spoke a true word: 'However unlike they may be, the two peoples have got to live side by side. It is not only the Christian way, but the common-sense way also, to live together not in hostility but in kindness.' All lovers of South Africa (and they are many) yearn to see the three great peoples—Dutch, Bantu and British—living in harmony and co-operating for their common progress. This end will not be attained by denunciation of one party or another; nor simply by preaching brotherliness. Here, I think, a few words from Mr Oldham's address must be quoted: [1]

> The Church will achieve little by merely preaching brotherliness. Preaching is easy. It is not enough to enunciate and reiterate the principles of Jesus, if conditions exist which make it practically impossible for men to live as brothers. The thing to be done in that case by those who believe in the principles of Jesus is to set to work to alter the conditions and to lift men to the plane on which brotherly relations become a possibility.

The message addressed by the Conference to the peoples of South Africa, both white and black, will be found on page 124.

Co-operation with American Negroes

FINALLY, reference must be made to the desire of the American Negroes to take their share in the evangelization of the land of their forefathers. Dr Hope spoke of it in full Conference:

> We are graduating from our colleges about five hundred Negro students annually. We have a population of twelve million Negroes in America. The spirit of service is among us, but it must have a greater field for

[1] See p. 168.

unselfish expression than America yields. I am beginning to wonder what is going to become of this increasingly large number of educated Negroes if they do not find some new field, some new outlet for unselfish activity. I maintain that those who have a desire to give service to Africa ought to be given a chance.

A large committee (for the names, see page 176) was appointed to consider this question. Their recommendations adopted by the Conference will be found on page 123. In brief, it may be said that the Conference decided in favour of admitting the Negroes, under certain conditions, to a larger share of missionary work in Africa.

CHAPTER XI

WHAT IT ALL MEANS TO US

THE Le Zoute Conference has been held — is now an event of the past. Its members have scattered. The missionaries and visitors from Africa have returned to their posts, the mission secretaries to their desks, others to their several vocations. This book will soon be in the hands of the public. Will it be glanced at and then placed upon the shelf of unread volumes ? And will the Conference itself sink into oblivion ? It will have failed altogether if it does not provoke thought, prayer and action. Le Zoute was never intended to be an end in itself. That men and women should come together, at the cost of so much time and money, spend a pleasant week at a charming seaside resort, talk over things, then disperse and live on as if nothing had happened, would be a futile proceeding. The Conference was intended to be the starting-point of a great new movement. Whether that purpose will be fulfilled or not depends very largely upon readers of this volume. I feel intensely the responsibility that was laid upon me when I was invited to write it. Have I succeeded to any degree in presenting the case ? I shall have failed if the book leads merely to a mild discussion and possibly to criticisms of what has been said and omitted. We are now brought to a point where every reader—of whatever nationality and in whatever land—should ask, What does it all mean to us ? What are we going to do about it ? Then action—determined, unfaltering action—should follow.

Let us glance over the road we have travelled together. I started by saying that there is a New Africa. What do we want that New Africa to be ? There are many possible answers. The answer that the Le Zoute Conference gave is : We want Africa to be a Christian land—Christian in all her parts and activities. Really Christian—not in name merely, formally, ecclesiastically, but Christian throughout in the New Testament sense of the term.

We will not dissent from men whose purpose it is to drive railroads far into the interior and to develop the material resources of the continent. Africa is part of God's world. It must be in accord-

ance with the will of God, who made Africa so rich, that her copper and gold should be used, that the soil should be made to bring forth its fullness. The development of these resources is not incompatible with the Christian Mission—it may, and should, be part and parcel of it. If ennobled by a rightful spirit, the enterprise may bring blessings to all concerned.

We will not dissent from the men whose purpose it is to establish good government in Africa. The evils which flourished for so many centuries under the old regime—the bloodshed, the tyranny, the inhumanity of man to man, the incessant warfare—cannot, we are sure, be in accordance with the will of God. The sound principle of administration—the principle of training African peoples in the art of self government according to a high standard of justice—is altogether compatible with the Christian Mission.

We do not dissent from the men whose purpose it is to build schools for the Africans. That black people, any more than white people, should remain ignorant concerning His world and the processes of history, should lead drab lives unrefined by art and literature, cannot be accordant with the will of their Creator.

We do not dissent from the men who devote themselves to the investigation and treatment of disease, to the creation of sanitary conditions of life, so that Africa may become the home of clean, healthy populations. We cannot believe it to be the will of God that so many of His creatures should have diseased and ill-nurtured bodies, should live in filth and in ignorance of the laws of health.

Nor, finally, do we dissent from the men who set out to study the African peoples—to reveal the nature of their social organization, their mental processes, their modes of approach to the spiritual world, their languages and traditional lore. Humanity, as we see it, is a unity in diversity—bound in one by fundamental identities, but wonderfully varied in its components. Man in his infinite variety is God's creature, and it must be His will that peoples should understand each other with that understanding which is the parent of mutual respect. The study of man would only be incompatible with the Christian Mission were it made the means of exploiting his weakness and folly.

There is a Christian and an unchristian way of carrying on such activities as these. What makes them the one or the other is the motive with which they are performed, and the goal to which they tend. The hallmark of the Christian Mission is service for God and humanity.

Our desire is for a Christian Africa, which simply means an Africa where the Kingdom of God is come—that Reign of God which is not a matter of eating and drinking, but righteousness, joy and peace in the Holy Spirit.

Quite another kind of Africa is possible—an Africa swept and garnished, possessed of demons worse than the old, its last state worse than the first. The influx of western civilization does not guarantee the New Africa of our dreams. It may become a continent of low ambitions, selfish, grasping, soulless, indifferent to goodness. Let us make no mistake about it. The evil angels of Africa are very active—her fate hangs in the balance. She is not to be redeemed by wishes, only by the strenuous and persistent efforts in co-operation of all men and women who desire to see her noble and great.

Of course, it would be possible to argue this matter on other and lower grounds. It is easy to demonstrate the value of a redeemed Africa in the markets of the world—easy to show that selfish exploitation defeats its own purpose. It is as certain as anything can be in this world that if the Le Zoute programme be carried out in its entirety the result will be profitable in terms of cash dividends. In blunter words, it will pay to do these things. There are times and places for such an argument, but not here and now.

The task before us is impressive in its magnitude. Africa is a big country. To cover its wide extent with redemptive agencies is a task of herculean proportions. No one nation, no one organization, no individual, can accomplish it. Africa is pre-eminently a field for co-operative effort.

The Conference asked that the enlarged conception of the Christian Mission in Africa reached at the Conference may be used to enlist sympathy and service, and to appeal to the adventurous spirit of the younger generation.

If this book comes into the hands of young men and women in colleges or homes who are wondering how they can best serve humanity, we would (in David Livingstone's immortal phrase) beg to direct their attention to Africa. There they can find scope for all their energies and talents. And if for any reason they do not wish to become missionaries in name (and personally I think it is the noblest work any person can undertake), then they may find a career of usefulness as teachers, or doctors, or scientific workers, in government or other service, and still take their share in the Christian Mission. Or if they go out to trade or farm, they may

in those capacities share in it. Africa needs Christian men and women in every walk of life.

The missionary societies in America and in Europe and their body of supporters have a special province, a special responsibility. In the great co-operative effort which we contemplate for the making of a Christian Africa their function is one of peculiar importance; they have a part to play that no other people can take; and it is theirs to put soul into every form of activity.

The Le Zoute Conference asked that its resolutions should be transmitted to the missionary conferences in Africa. It is desired that these should review the conclusions reached at Le Zoute, report how far local missionary opinion is in agreement with them, and what steps can be taken to give effect to them.

These resolutions are also to be brought, through the national missionary organizations, to the attention of the mission boards. They are to be asked to bring the needs and opportunities in Africa, as revealed at the Conference, before the home Church in such a way as to enlist a larger response in the offering of prayer, service and gifts.

We trust that the boards will place a copy of this Report in the hands of each member, that the members will study it carefully, and that copies will be supplied to missionaries on the field.

Above everything the Le Zoute Conference would ask for earnest consideration of the enlarged conception of the Christian Mission which it reached. Mr J. H. Oldham's address should be read in this connexion. This is the message of Le Zoute:

The new call is to a fresh advance, a further step forward, an enlargement of our conception of the mission of the Christian Church. It is not a substitute for the call sounded by the pioneers of the missionary movement a century ago; still less is it something that contradicts that call, or makes it less imperative and urgent than before. Rather is it a call to go further, to break fresh ground, to expand our ideals of what the missionary obligation involves.

What, then, is the programme?

We have to complete the evangelization of Africa. We must not delude ourselves that this has been accomplished. The figures reported in Chapter II. show that the Protestant and Roman Catholic communities combined do not number much more than five million out of the total population of 130,000,000. Muhammadan Africa has as yet hardly been touched. We may take heart from the words of Dr Walter Miller: 'I have no hesitation in saying

that, while the evidences may be to the contrary to those who judge with only natural eyes, to those who see beyond there is the certainty that the tide has turned, and that the Kingdom of Christ in Africa—even Moslem Africa—is on the way to ascendancy.' [1] There is much to encourage us in what he writes, and in the experience of missionaries in Egypt and the Sudan, but we must not imagine that the bringing of the Muhammadans into the obedience of Christ can be accomplished without a great effort on our part.

The summons has not ceased to sound for pioneers to press forward into unreached pagan areas of Africa. There still exist great tribes, numbering millions of souls, among whom the Gospel of Christ has not yet been preached. With all our enthusiasm for education, let us not neglect our primary duty of evangelization.

The foundations of the Church have to be well and soundly laid, converts grounded in the faith, teachers and pastors trained, so that the African Church may become self propagating, self supporting, self governing. The Le Zoute Conference asked for a reconsideration of our attitude towards some of the aspects of the African's life, so that the Church might become more deeply rooted in the nature of the people—more truly African.

In all these matters we are simply to carry on the work we have been doing—with intensified zeal and deeper understanding.

When we turn to other parts of the programme, we are asked to bring about nothing short of a revolution in our methods. No other word can properly be applied to the new educational policy outlined by the Le Zoute Conference. It means a readjustment of mind, the launching out into a sea hitherto unexplored by us. The conception of the school as a community centre from which radiates new influences upon every phase of the life of the people is one that has never been grasped by the great majority of missionaries; we are no longer to be content with teaching the three R's, the catechism and a little Scripture, but are to bring the schools into a real, living relationship with the actual life of the people. Again, the attitude of the Government, in British Africa at least, towards education creates new opportunities and responsibilities. It means the overhauling of all our system, the raising of the standard everywhere. Governments are prepared to give liberal grants of money. But, let there be no mistake about this, unless we are prepared to go forward, the schools will slip from our grasp.

[1] See his article in the Africa Number of *The International Review of Missions*, pp. 556–68.

I should like to call attention here to Mr Oldham's words on page 166 in order to emphasize them ; and also to the Conference resolution commending the importance of co-operating with the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and to all the recommendations as to literature.

If the missionary societies are to accomplish the task to which God is calling them in the New Africa they will need more workers, and even better workers than they have ever had. If one thing more than another was brought home to members of the Le Zoute Conference it was the necessity of training men and women for the work. In the past, eminent missionaries have rendered magnificent service after no more training than, say, Robert Moffat had, but this is no argument for sending men and women out without proper preparation. Nobody would cite the well-known instances of those great preachers Spurgeon and Parker to prove the uselessness of a thorough theological equipment for ministers and clergymen. Men and women are being sent to Africa after not a month's special preparation for their work. This ought not to be. The resolutions of the Conference on this subject cannot be repeated too frequently. No affirmations at Le Zoute were of greater importance.

It is a healthy sign that the demand for better training comes from the missionaries themselves. It is to be hoped that provision of such training will be one result of the Le Zoute Conference.

Our fathers were called to a great adventure in Africa, and nobly they responded. They went out into the unknown lands and did magnificent pioneer work of all kinds. Now we are called to an adventure, not less arduous, demanding not less but more faith, and courage and endurance, than theirs.

Nothing is adequate to the situation which the Christian Church has to face in Africa except a new birth. There must be an outburst of new forces comparable to the breaking forth of fresh life in the Church more than a century ago, which found expression in the birth of the missionary societies. . . . If there is to be a rebirth of the missionary movement, it will mean a rebirth of the life of prayer.

That is the final message of the Le Zoute Conference to the Christian Church.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS

SUGGESTIONS ON EVANGELISM

THE spirit of evangelism should permeate all the services of the missionary and the Church. The primary purpose of all missionary activity is to relate every aspect of African life to the Lord Jesus Christ. No moral standard for the African Christian which is content with anything lower than likeness to Christ is adequate. The forces which will make for the regeneration of Africa are spiritual.

The Conference would emphasize the need of the fullest possible knowledge of the vernacular of the people for a true approach to the African mind in presenting the Christian Gospel and in building up a Christian habit of life.

The Conference re-affirms the conviction that Africa will best be evangelized by her own children, and therefore to search out and train those whom God has called to this work is of the utmost importance. The careful supervision and guidance of these evangelists is essential.

1. The life of the African is essentially social and based on tribal conditions and customs. Therefore everything that is good in the African's heritage should be conserved, enriched and ennobled by contact with the spirit of Christ. While the Church cannot sanction any custom which is evil, it should not condemn customs which are not incompatible with the Christian life. Customs whose accidents are evil but whose substance is valuable may be purified and used. Where in the light of more comprehensive knowledge a change of practice is suggested it should be made only with due care not to wound the feelings of the African Christian. In all questions regarding indigenous custom the counsel of mature well-instructed African Christians should be sought; and care should be taken not to create artificial sins. It is our hope that the African Christians will build up a body of Christian custom, true to their genius, and covering the whole of their life.

2. This Conference is convinced that Christian society

must be built on Christian family life, and that the ideal of the Christian family life can only be realized in monogamy.

3. The greatest care should be used in the exercise of discipline to maintain a high standard of conduct within the Church. But such discipline should make for edification and not for destruction. It is the duty of the Church to shepherd those who have been disciplined so that they be not lost to the Christian faith.

Care should be taken for better co-operation in church discipline between neighbouring missions. When members or teachers apply to be received into another communion information should always be sought from the communion from which they have come, with a view to the maintenance of discipline.

4. The Conference recommends that missionary societies provide full opportunity and time to African missionaries, by means of recognized courses at home and on the field, to study Native languages, customs and religion, that they may make an effective approach to the African mind.

5. In each area where there is a considerable Muhammadan population provision should be made for special training in Islamics and in Arabic.

EDUCATION

I. The Christian Ideal of Education

MANY definitions of the aim of education are being offered to-day which the Conference could accept as true and valuable in themselves, as consistent with the religion it professes, and as peculiarly relevant to this age and the conditions existing in Africa ; but all together these would form only a partial statement and come far short of the height and breadth of the Christian ideal of education. The members of the Conference see in Jesus Christ all the elements of human greatness meeting in the perfection of grace and truth. To have the mind of Christ is, in their estimation, the mark of maturity for any man. This Conference, therefore, regards Christlikeness as the supreme moral achievement, and to fashion character after the pattern of Christ is to them that definition of the aim of education which, traced out in all its implications, is felt by the consent of our whole nature to be at once the highest and the most comprehensive.

The following outline of recommendations and proposals is inspired and governed throughout by this faith and conviction.

II. Policy

Inasmuch as Native education in Africa is a co-operative undertaking in which Governments, missions, Natives and the non-official European community are all concerned, the Conference, while recognizing that conditions differ in various parts of the continent, offers the following general recommendations regarding the distribution of educational effort at the present time.

1. The formulation and general direction of educational policy, the general administration of the educational system and the supervision of all educational institutions are among the proper functions of Government.

To advise and assist the Government in the functions mentioned above, and to secure co-operation among all the bodies concerned with Native education, there should be established in each territory, as has already been done in many cases, an Advisory Board of Education on which Government, missionaries, Africans and the European non-official community are represented. Provision should be made for regular and special meetings of the Advisory Board.

2. While the right of Government to inspect schools is acknowledged, inspectors of Native schools should be competent educators, in sympathy with missionary effort, and able to speak one or more of the Native languages current in their circuits.

3. To improve the work of existing schools and especially village schools, to relate the work of the schools closely with the needs of the community, and to promote the health and general well-being of the people, visiting teachers of the Jeanes[1] type, both men and women, should be appointed. These teachers should ordinarily be trained at a central institution controlled by a governing body on which missionaries are adequately represented. These visiting teachers should work under the direction of the missions, or (in exceptional circumstances) under the Government.

4. Under the particular conditions obtaining in Africa the

[1] See *Education in East Africa:* Report of the Second African Education Commission, pp. 54–6.

special responsibility of missions and of the Native Church seems to lie in the field of village, central village, intermediate and secondary schools, and in particular in the training of teachers, and it is desirable that these branches of education should be entrusted to them so far as it is possible for them to undertake the work. In places where for any reason the missions are unable to provide adequate education of this nature, or to maintain such education at a sufficiently high standard, it will be necessary for the Government to provide this type of education also.

5. Higher and technical instruction such as that given in colleges and advanced industrial, agricultural and medical institutions should, under present conditions, ordinarily be conducted by the Government through the agency of governing bodies on which missionaries are represented. This, however, should not prevent missions or united groups of missions from conducting such colleges and institutions, provided they conform to conditions laid down by the Government.

6. The extent to which missions can share in the task of education will depend upon the financial assistance provided by the Government. Such provision should be made on bases to be determined in consultation with the Advisory Boards.

7. In cases where the Government undertakes such school work as is ordinarily undertaken by missions, the expenditure on the government schools and the grants paid to aided schools should be so adjusted as to secure for the latter equal opportunity of attaining the same standard of efficiency as is aimed at in schools under the direct control of Government working under similar circumstances.

8. Inasmuch as the funds for Native Education, apart from the missionary and church contributions, will as a rule be derived from either the general revenue of the country (including the Native tax), or from special cesses or levies imposed upon particular districts or tribes, the Conference is of opinion that the best policy is to regard the general revenue of the country as the main source for educational grants and expenditure, and that the money derived from this source should in time be sufficient to put an elementary education within the reach of all Native children. In order to provide additional educational facilities, Native chiefs or councils and other local governing

bodies should be encouraged to supplement the amount of money derived from the Native tax or general revenue. Such local contributions should ordinarily be expended in the districts in which they are raised.

III. Curriculum

The curriculum of all types of schools should be drawn up with complete awareness of the life of the community. Character development based on religion should be the colouring of every educational activity. Hygiene and health should be emphasized, not only in the practice of the school and home but in the reading, writing and arithmetic of the school. Agriculture and industry should be taught in the classroom as well as practised in the field and workshop. The building up of a sound home life should receive consideration in the school as well as be exemplified in the home, and the value of recreation should be taught by both practice and precept. In higher institutions, which should aim at the training of men and women as leaders of their people, the curricula should be based on the same fundamental principles, together with an historic and comparative treatment of civics or citizenship, economics and the development of civilization.

If it be true that 'the greatest importance must be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction' and that 'both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects,'[1] it is essential that adequate provision should be made in government codes and curricula for sufficient time for religious instruction during school hours, and particularly for the training of the teacher to give such instruction.

IV. Education of Women and Girls

In all these resolutions dealing with education we have had in view the absolute necessity of the education of women and girls being developed simultaneously and in full co-ordination with that of boys. This will involve among other things :

(*a*) The gradual creation of an adequate staff of women inspectors of schools.

[1] *Education Policy in British Tropical Africa:* Memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education, p. 4.

(*b*) Mutual consultation in regard to programme and curricula of boys' and girls' schools.

(*c*) In some places a completely new emphasis upon the education of women and girls.

We therefore suggest that the International Missionary Council be asked to set up a commission or committee to help and advise those engaged in the education of women and girls.

V. The Medium of Instruction

For educational and other reasons education should be conducted through the medium of the vernacular at least during the early stages of the school life of the child. In Africa, as well as in other parts of the world where there are very small language groups, it may not be possible to give full effect to this accepted principle, and in such cases the language of a neighbouring large group might with advantage be made the medium of instruction for the smaller, provided that it is acceptable to them. No attempt should, however, be made to impose upon larger language units any African so-called lingua franca.

Instruction through the medium of the Native language should be the rule for all subjects in the primary stages of instruction (extending ordinarily through the first three or four years of school life) and for some subjects throughout the whole school life of the child, attention being directed in the higher classes to the grammatical structure and the literature of the language.

In classes beyond the primary stages the teaching of a European language should be begun in order to enable the pupils to meet the situation arising from the rapidly increasing contacts with European civilizations, to profit by them, and on their part to make a full African contribution to the shaping of a developing society.

VI. Religious Education

The need for giving to Africa an education which is based upon religion, and which in all its parts is infused with religion, is vital to the missionary cause. It is also one of the chief reasons why both Governments and missions are convinced that missionary co-operation is essential in the education of Africa. This being so, it is obvious that the missionary body must see to it that the religious instruction and practice of its schools is raised to the highest possible level of efficiency.

To this end we propose that the International Missionary Council shall set up an *ad hoc* commission whose task it shall be, in consultation with existing agencies, to survey the whole field of religious education in Africa, and to advise the various societies thereon.

In order that this body may at once turn its attention to those questions which are most exercising the minds of the missionary body in the matter of religious education we submit the following suggestions as a starting-point for their deliberations:

1. We desire that a clear statement should be made concerning the aim of religious education, and that the missionary body should be assisted to discover wherein their present theory and practice of religious education succeeds or fails in the attainment of this aim.

2. If, as we expect, in the pursuance of this aim the content of our own religious education will be found to include (*a*) the transmission and development of religious knowledge, (*b*) the translation of such religious knowledge into ethical practice, and (*c*) its relation to worship, we ask that this commission shall include in its report reference to the following points:

(*a*) The general technique of religious instruction.

(*b*) Special problems related to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures, naturally including among these the question of graded syllabuses and appropriate literature.

(*c*) The methods through which theoretical instruction can be immediately and inevitably related to appropriate expression in the life of the individual and community.

(*d*) The place of worship in the life of the school and the possibilities that exist for training in worship.

In all these matters we ask that the subjects may be reviewed not only from the standpoint of psychology and pedagogy, but also from that of sociology.

3. And believing as we do that although special classroom periods are essential in religious instruction, yet such periods of instruction will be of little value unless religion colours the whole curriculum, and not only the whole curriculum but the whole life and activity of the school. We ask for special study of the religious implications of the school as a community centre and the kind of practice which is essential if these religious implications are to be made actual in the life and work of the school.

4. In all these suggestions we ask that the commission shall have very clearly in mind the problems of the little non-residential village schools as well as those of central schools, boarding schools and training institutions, and that the educational influences of the home may not be neglected.

5. We suggest further that help is needed not only in respect of the actual content of religious education under varying conditions, but also concerning the methods by which such training of missionaries and teachers can be devised and put into execution, so as to secure that this content is preserved and such supervision on the field exercised as shall make improvement in the religious education on the lines suggested progressive and assured.

6. It is urged further that this commission shall conceive it to be part of its duty to set in motion forces which shall lead to the production of such literature, or the utilization of appropriate literature, if such exists, as shall be deemed by them to be necessary in the pursuance of the policy of religious education which they advise.

7. In the pursuance of the work of such a commission we deem it probable that any effective survey of religious education in Africa, still more any large change of policy in religious education in Africa, will involve the setting apart by the missionary body in each of the several principal areas in Africa some person or some group to undertake the specific task of studying the local problems of religious education and encouraging experiments in this field.

VII. Conclusion

The Conference would conclude this statement as it began. All those measures which are here proposed—the willing and loyal co-operation with Governments and all the agencies of a properly constituted society, the setting up of boards and councils, the drafting of codes and curricula, the establishment of schools and colleges, the appointment of supervisors and other educational officers, the relation of a village school to the activities of the rural community and the emphasis on instruction not in word only but in deed and truth, the training of teachers and the preparation of suitable text-books—are nothing more, and nothing less, than means to one end, uniting Africa to the whole world of men.

'Until we all come unto the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full-grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, that we may be no longer children.'

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1. WE record with thankfulness that, as a result of missionary devotion and labour, there are now at least some portions of the Christian Scriptures in 243 African languages, and that in 190 of these there are also other books.

2. We are, however, profoundly impressed with the inadequacy of existing vernacular literature for the needs of the African people. From the results of the recent survey it appears that in only 17 of these 190 languages are there more than 25 books, and more than half of these languages have less than 5 books each as their entire library.

3. The survey reveals the lack of any definite plan of production, and suggests the necessity for a selection of the more important languages in which literature should be developed.

4. For the most part the existing books are the work of foreigners and have the foreign outlook. African authorship has to be discovered and encouraged, and a greater mastery of African speech and thought attained by the foreign missionaries.

5. We are convinced that for the purposes of education and for the full development of the life of the Christian Church in Africa the use of the vernacular is essential, and therefore that the time has come for the missions to set themselves to secure an immediate and rapid increase in the production of the literature urgently needed in African languages.

6. We thankfully welcome the establishment of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and we earnestly commend to all the missions working in Africa, and to the home boards, the importance of co-operating heartily with it.

We believe that the Institute will be of far-reaching service to missionaries in helping (*a*) to solve linguistic problems, (*b*) to remedy and to prevent expensive mistakes in the choice of orthography, (*c*) to prepare school text-books adapted to the needs and conditions of African life, (*d*) to promote a better understanding of the distinctive character and contribution of African peoples, (*e*) to bring about an increasingly sympathetic attitude on the part of Governments towards

African vernaculars, and towards the valuable elements in the African heritage.

7. We urge the missions to consider without delay what is the minimum programme of publication needed in their own language areas. We recommend the co-operative preparation and publication of literature wherever possible, and suggest that the following items are so sure to find their place in the minimum programme that the preparation of manuscripts along these lines should be at once undertaken. To secure the widest possible usefulness of such works we recommend that copies of the manuscripts in English or French should be circulated in the different language areas and so made available as basic texts for translation, adaptation or suggestion.

A. Graded Readers, including African fables and folk-lore.
Graded Nature Talks.
Graded text-books in Geography.
Graded text-books in Biography and History.
Graded text-books in Arithmetic.
Handbooks on Hygiene, First-Aid and Nursing.
Handbook on Agriculture.
Handbook on Child-Welfare and Mother-Craft.

B. Graded Bible Lessons and Stories.
Books on Christian Conduct and Fellowship.
The Christian Ideal of Marriage and the Home.
Why I am a Christian.
The Bible and how it has come to us.
Bible Dictionary and Helps to Bible Study.
Single-volume Commentaries.

C. Books for Advanced Readers.

In addition, we urge the educational and evangelistic importance of pictures, and recommend the preparation and co-operative publication of pictures suitable for African school, family, community and church life.

8. We strongly advise the establishment and strengthening of periodicals in African languages, and that these should include a section specially devoted to the interests of African women.

9. We specially recommend the preparation of a suitable book with reference to the life of the African women, bearing upon all the different aspects of the home, and we request the Committee for Christian Literature of the Conference of Missionary Societies

in Great Britain to consider this matter with a view to the production of such a manuscript, which might be made available for translation into the various African languages.

10. The permeation by Islam of many parts of the continent of Africa calls for a simple literature to give to the African Church information upon Islam, and inspiration and guidance for her task of evangelizing Moslems. We appeal to the Central Committee for Christian Literature for Moslems to enquire into the type of literature that may best serve the African Church in this respect, to request some one acquainted with the impact of Islam on animistic people to prepare a handbook for the instruction of Christian leaders on the origin and character of Islam and how it differs from Christian teaching, and to submit suggestions and other basic texts to the Christian Literature Committees working for the areas concerned.

11. It is confidently hoped that in the production of the books in Section A of resolution 7, the co-operation of Governments, and of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures will be available. We however remind the missions and Churches of Africa that this will not release them from their obligation to provide the Christian literature which Africa needs.

12. We urge the International Missionary Council to bring before the boards and their missions the necessity of strengthening and perfecting the co-operative organizations both in Africa and at the home base for promoting Christian literature. No one mission nor Church, nor any one provincial group can be expected to produce at an early date all that is required for all the schools and Christian communities within its area. The task can only be accomplished by wide co-operative effort, sustained with enthusiasm. No missionary expenditure will in most areas be more remunerative than that which is devoted to a wisely directed scheme of co-operative publishing of African Christian literature within the next decade.

13. We urge upon the mission boards that African Christian literature demands a regular assignment in the budget of any mission that seeks to fulfil its task completely, and the seeking out and setting apart for the task of authorship of workers, foreign and African, with literary aptitudes.

14. We recommend the Literature Committees in North America and Europe to consider the joint appointment and support of a full-time officer or organizer of African Christian literature.

15. We call the attention of the mission boards to the

necessity of new missionaries having an introduction to phonetics and the principles of African language study before going to their mission field.

HEALTH AND NATIVE WELFARE

IT is the conviction of this Conference that the problems of health and population are basic in any plan for the sound development of Africans and Africa. In view of this conviction the Conference deems it of the utmost importance that mission societies and missionaries shall have a clear understanding of their responsibility in health ministry to the Africans.

1. Recognizing that the health of any people is ultimately dependent on education along sound lines, we would draw attention to the fact that the necessary machinery already exists whereby the teaching and practice of the laws of hygiene and personal cleanliness can be carried out, and we would stress the importance of utilizing such machinery. We refer especially to village schools, which exist in most areas, and where health education on the simplest lines can be imparted as an integral part of the daily curriculum.

Among the subjects which we deem to be of primary importance we include education in housing, food, personal and moral hygiene, general sanitary habits and simple measures against existing diseases.

All teaching should be of a simple practical nature, and wherever possible, illustrated by object lessons intimately connected with village life.

It is obvious that education along these lines can be carried to a further stage at the centres of higher education; but we would stress the point that all teaching should be essentially practical. It should be found possible to include in such teaching the elements of mother-craft, first aid, and responsibility towards the sick.

(*a*) From the above suggestions it follows that Native teachers for village schools will themselves have to be trained in the above subjects, and such training must be an integral part of the education they receive at the normal schools.

(*b*) If health education is to be carried out along these lines it will be necessary to survey existing local conditions, and

among other measures to provide simple primers in the vernacular dealing with the subjects taught. A start has already been made in this direction, and it has been found to be of great assistance in several countries to publish simple health tracts in the vernacular for free distribution.

(*c*) We would draw the attention of mission boards to the vital necessity of establishing maternity and infant welfare centres along with other general health measures. This ought to be possible in any district where there is a hospital in existence, or where a maternity training school can be established.

2. We recommend that the International Missionary Council be requested to consult with the missionary boards regarding the desirability of establishing an international advisory board, whose general task it shall be to survey the whole field of medical missionary work in Africa, and assist the co-operation of medical missions with Governments, with various philanthropic and scientific agencies, and with the League of Nations, in the campaign against disease. We would suggest sleeping sickness, tuberculosis, venereal diseases and helminthiasis as especially requiring attention. Another point would be the training of an African medical staff.

(*a*) In the survey of the field of medical mission work in Africa such an advisory body would correspond with representatives of the various mission areas with a view to collecting information as complete as possible concerning all factors bearing upon the health of the Native population.

(*b*) We believe that the need for medical and welfare workers in Africa must be met from among the African peoples. In most large areas of the continent definite efforts have been made to train such workers, frequently with a large measure of success both by Governments and missions. Building upon these foundations already made in established institutions, efforts should now be put forth to increase as rapidly as possible the number of trained African workers of all types, looking to the provision in the near future of institutions capable of giving a complete medical training. In the establishment of such medical schools Government and inter-mission co-operation should be sought.

3. In regard to the entire programme of the promotion of health this Conference wishes to assure the various Governments

that they can count upon the missionary societies rendering all possible assistance to Governments in the forwarding of any particular measures of Public Health which it is desirable should be carried out.

ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

1. LAND

MISSIONARY experience is unanimous in emphasizing that the question of land holds a central place in the consciousness of the African peoples, and that consequently guarantees to the Native peoples that the tenure of their lands is absolutely secure are essential to ensure peace and goodwill among all Native communities and must be the basis of all endeavours to promote Native welfare.

It is therefore urged that all Native lands should be (*a*) clearly delimited and (*b*) protected by title deeds or vested in a trust providing a security not less valid in law than that under which non-Natives hold titles.

It is further urged that it is of great importance for the well-being and development of Native life that sufficient land should be secured to the Native community to afford it adequate opportunity for economic cultivation and for stock breeding and other forms of agricultural or pastoral pursuits suitable to the locality.

2. LABOUR

IT is recognized, not only by missionaries but by administrators, that the future of the continent of Africa is bound up with the moral, physical and intellectual development of the African peoples.

Having reviewed the conditions prevailing in different parts of the continent, the Conference is convinced that in many localities the rapidly increasing demands for Native labour arising out of industrial enterprises may prejudice the healthy growth of Native communities cultivating their own lands under tribal conditions. Such Native communities provide the necessary basis for the evolution of a healthy African society, and are the only reservoir from which a supply of labour for economic development can be assured. When the demands for labourers for work outside Native areas, and

especially for work at a distance, are excessive, tribal life is subjected to a severe strain. The absence of adult males may reduce the amount of land under cultivation, with consequent shortage of food and under-nourishment of the population, place undue burdens on the women and children, lead to the weakening of moral restraints and the spread of immorality, thereby affecting the birth-rate, give rise to a spirit of restlessness and diminish the influence of tribal discipline. All these factors tend towards the disintegration of Native society. Economic considerations, therefore, no less than Christian and humanitarian interest in the welfare of the Native peoples, require that the whole question of the effect upon Native life of the labour demands for work at a distance from home should be made the subject of careful enquiry by competent authorities.

The Conference heartily welcomes the action of the International Labour Office in establishing a commission of experts, whose advice may be sought in regard to questions affecting Native labour, including all forms of forced labour and the conditions regulating the recruitment and protection of workers under contract and industrial conditions generally.

The Conference is deeply convinced that compulsory or forced labour for private enterprises is inadmissible in any circumstances. It is also resolutely opposed to all forced labour for public purposes, the only exceptions being (*a*) when such compulsion is the only means of combating epidemics and floods and of dealing with similar national emergencies, and (*b*) reasonable communal labour in accordance with Native law and custom.

AMERICAN NEGROES AND AFRICA

1. Findings as to Facts

1. THERE are no legislative restrictions specifically directed against the American Negro, but most African Governments are opposed to, or place difficulties in the way of, the sending of American Negroes to Africa.

2. Opposition to the sending of American Negroes to Africa is due mainly to three factors :

(*a*) The unrest caused by certain movements believed to be dangerous to order and government and to be encouraged from America.

(*b*) The antagonism to Government in past years of certain American Negroes in Africa resulting in serious disturbances in some cases.

(*c*) The failure of certain American Negroes in Africa in past years.

3. Owing to the effect of one or more of the reasons above-named, most African missionaries consulted do not think the present time auspicious for pressing upon Government such a general change in policy as would mean the sending of a large number of American Negroes to Africa in the immediate future, although strongly believing that efforts should be made to increase gradually the number of such missionaries.

4. There are at present working in various parts of Africa American Negroes of the highest character and great usefulness, whose fine spirit and devoted work will in the course of a few years greatly increase the respect in which American Negro missionaries are held, and make easier the securing of permission for the entrance of additional missionaries.

5. There is a natural and laudable desire on the part of a large number of American missionary societies, both white and Negro, to send additional American Negroes as missionaries to Africa—thereby giving the educated Negro an outlet for his zeal to render unselfish service, and aiding in a natural and important way the cause of African evangelization, education and general welfare.

2. Recommendations

In view of the above findings the Conference adopts the following resolutions :

1. That the Negroes of America should be permitted by Governments, and encouraged by missionary societies, to play an important part in the evangelization, medical service and education of Africa, and that the number of their missionaries should be increased as qualified candidates are available for needed work, and as their representatives already in the field still further succeed in gaining for their people and their societies that public confidence which is essential.

2. That every practicable form of assistance should be given in the spirit of Christian fellowship, as to colleagues of the same missionary status, by white missionaries to qualified American

Negroes working in Africa, and that the same spirit of co-operation should be expected by white missionaries from American Negro missionaries.

3. That Governments should be supported in requiring that American Negroes wishing to enter Africa for missionary purposes should go out under the auspices of responsible societies of recognized and well-established standing; and that owing to the difficult and delicate inter-racial situation in Africa, exceptional care should be used in the selection of men and women of strength of character and a fine spirit of co-operation able to meet the same tests as white missionaries.

4. That in the interest of comity and co-operation American Negro missionary societies not now represented in Africa should work as far as possible through well-established societies already in Africa, and that, in accordance with the general rules of missionary procedure, they should give special attention to unevangelized districts.

5. That when missionary societies of established reputation are unable to secure the admission to Africa of American Negroes needed for important work and qualified to perform it, the matter may properly be taken up with the International Missionary Council for the use of its friendly offices.

6. In adopting these resolutions the Conference recognizes that the above recommendations are not an ideal or a complete solution of the problem under consideration, but believes that they represent the 'next steps' which may be wisely taken, and that they should, in the providence of God, gradually bring about a highly significant and important contribution by the Negroes of America to their distant kindred in Africa.

RACIAL PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE Conference desires to express its profound sympathy with the people of South Africa, both white and black, in the racial problems with which they are called to deal. It realizes that the problem of relations between different races, which is one of the world problems of the twentieth century, presents itself in South Africa in an exceptionally difficult and acute form.

The Conference believes that only in the teaching and spirit of Jesus Christ can a true solution be found for racial adjustments,

and that this teaching requires us to desire and seek for all the fullest opportunity for growth and progress.

The Conference is convinced that the welfare and prosperity of every community is inseparably bound up with the welfare and advancement of all its parts.

The Conference desires to assure the Christian Churches of South Africa of its deep interest in their endeavours to discover how the Christian spirit may express itself in relation to the racial problems of that country, and of its prayers for the success of these endeavours. It cherishes the hope and confidence that the Christian mind of South Africa will out of the reality, greatness and acuteness of the difficulties be able to make a contribution of special value towards the improvement of the relations between the black and white races throughout the world, which is the concern of the whole Church of Christ.

THE TRAINING OF WOMEN MISSIONARIES

THE Conference endorses the following resolution submitted to it by the women members of the Conference:

> The women members of the International Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa, meeting in Le Zoute, realize that work among African women has advanced to such a point that in order to conserve the remarkable results already achieved there is more than ever an urgent need for special attention to be given to the training of new women missionaries. A sympathetic approach to the life of African women depends upon understanding and insight which can only be built upon knowledge. The mystery and dread expressed in tabus and reflecting fear can best be penetrated by the well-informed missionary.
>
> The women of the Conference ask that more emphasis be put by all missionary boards and agencies upon training for missionary service, and that time be allowed for the study of phonetics and the principles of language, manners, customs and religion before going to the field, as well as on furlough.

TRANSMISSION OF RESOLUTIONS

THE Conference requests the officers of the International Missionary Conference to take the following actions in regard to the resolutions of the Conference:

1. To transmit the resolutions to the Missionary Conferences in Africa with the request that the Conference in each area will at its next meeting or at a special meeting review the conclusions reached at Le Zoute and report to the International Missionary Council how far local missionary opinion is in agreement with the resolutions and, in so far as it is in agreement, what steps can be taken in the area in question to give effect to the resolutions.

2. To transmit the resolutions of the Conference to the national missionary organizations in the home countries with the following suggestions :

(*a*) That the resolutions, with such comments and explanations as may be thought necessary, be brought to the attention of the boards and societies for their consideration and for such action as they may deem appropriate.

(*b*) That consideration be given to the best means of securing the widest publicity for the Report of the Conference.

(*c*) That the boards be asked to consider the desirability of placing a copy of the Report in the hands of all their missionaries.

(*d*) That the boards be asked to consider the means of bringing the needs and opportunities in Africa, as revealed at the Conference, before the home Church in such a way as to enlist a larger response in the offering of prayer, service and gifts.

(*e*) That special consideration be given to the means by which the enlarged conception of the Christian Mission in Africa reached at the Conference may be used to enlist the sympathy and service of those who are not yet committed to the missionary cause, and to appeal to the adventurous spirit of the younger generation.

3. To bring to the attention of the Governments in Africa, in the ways that seem most appropriate, the resolutions of the Conference dealing with health and Native welfare, education, literature and languages, and economic questions affecting Native well-being.

SPEECHES AND PAPERS

NEW FORCES IN AFRICA

Speech by Dr Thomas Jesse Jones

AFRICA is above all others the continent of new forces. There are the economic resources of soil, minerals and water-power, toward which the economic agencies of the world are turning with an eager interest, full of promise or of threat. There are the awakenings of the African people, seemingly for the first time conscious of the great world in which they live. Colonial Governments throughout the Great Continent are actively re-organizing their policies for good or for ill. The mandate responsibilities of nations have become the object of international concern. The mission societies of Europe and America and their devoted workers in every corner of the continent have felt the pull and the push of the strange forces about them and are entering more deeply than ever into the warp and woof of African life.

Africa is no longer the great dark continent: nine-tenths of its area and its people have been partitioned among the European Powers. Its plains and valleys are threaded by 35,000 miles of railways and many more miles of highways. The forces of civilization are everywhere on hand for the weal or the woe of Africa and Africans. The world now looks upon a great continent of misunderstandings, perplexities and anxieties. Gradually we shall know Africa as the continent of opportunities, until finally it shall be revealed to us as the continent of responsibilities.

As Dr Aggrey has told us in picturesque language, even the form of the continent presents to us one great question mark among the continents of the earth. Questions of vital and international significance press upon us for answer. Have European influences improved or oppressed the African people? Is African self-consciousness real or artificial? What is the meaning of primitive life? Why should colonial Governments continue? Have the independent nations of Liberia and Abyssinia succeeded? What are the possibilities of mandate Governments and the authority of the League of Nations as regards the future of Africa? Are the economic agencies of Europe and America necessary to the well-being of the continent? Will their activities be exploitation or development? Most vital to all of us assembled as the officers and guests of mission societies is the question, Why missionaries in Africa?

These are no idle questions of mere curiosity. Each enquiry bears

directly on the new forces in Africa. They transfer the research from the realm of the descriptive and the static to the realm of the dynamic, the vital and the real. There is an imperative quality in each question that should arrest the attention of all who are concerned in human welfare and the peace of the world.

Let us then proceed to an analysis of the new forces that matter. I realize fully that there are exceptions to what I shall state. We desire here an accurate picture with no danger of overlooking any important conditions which exist. Do not mistake my optimism for blindness or indifference to the misfortunes, injustices and even oppressions in some parts of the continent. Injustices and oppressions there are. Most of all there are indifferences and misunderstandings. It is imperative that this Conference shall be actively conscious of the difficulties and the evils to be corrected. I therefore urge that we speak frankly as the facts warrant. Reference to my writings will show that I have not hesitated to record limitations, injustices and oppressions. The justification for my optimism is that I believe in Africa and Africans, that I believe in the basic justice of other parts of the world, and that I have faith to believe that the spirit of co-operation will unite all elements for the full and comprehensive development of Africa and Africans.

New Attitudes towards Africa

THERE are manifest in Africa to-day three main forms in which new forces find embodiment: economic exploitation of material resources and Native peoples; recently formulated policies of governments, economic agencies and missions; and new attitudes, which ultimately govern both policies and developmental action and which are evident to a remarkable extent among Governments, economic agencies, missions, Native people and international Powers.

Much time and space could be devoted to a descriptive statement of these new forces. The amazing wealth of Africa is beginning to be known by the students of raw materials. Africa is more and more heralded as the one remaining continent of raw material, to which all the over-populated continents must turn. Even the casual reader is wearied with references to Johannesburg mines producing one-third of the gold output of the world; to Kimberley providing four-fifths of the diamonds of the present day; to the immense coal-fields still in the infancy of their production; the platinum reefs; the radium-bearing ores; the ironstone plateaus; and the wonderful copper fields of the Katanga and neighbouring regions. Note is being taken of the potentialities of the soil. Articles on the production of cocoa, coffee, cotton and rubber appear not only in geographical magazines, but also in daily newspapers. The geographical proximity of these great resources to Europe and America

thrills the imagination of commerce and industry and impels them to definite plans of action. Significant as these potentialities are to the world they are not the forces that most matter.

Policies of governments and other agencies are far more significant and vital. The study of colonial policies, both at the seat of home Governments in Europe and at the colonial capitals, reveals an eager interest, sometimes almost hectic in character. Time does not permit even an enumeration of new policies that have been adopted since the Great War. At present it is sufficient to say that even policies are not the most important manifestations of new forces in Africa.

The forces that are really vital for the future of Africa are the new attitudes now taking form with increasing definiteness on the part of governments, economic agencies, missions, Natives and international Powers. These are to be the chief subjects of our consideration. Through them we can better understand the meaning of economic exploitations, the significance of policies, and the probable trend of affairs for Africa and Africans. Herein shall we ascertain the extent of selfishness and the sincerity of altruism in all plans for Africa. What, then, are the attitudes of the five agencies concerned in the development of the ' Great Continent of Opportunities and Responsibilities ' ?

Attitude of Governments. Never before have colonial governments shown so many evidences of a genuine altruistic concern in the colonial people who have come under their authority. While there are most unfortunate exceptions to the rule, the general trend seems to be strongly in the direction of a real interest in the welfare of the people. Possibly the most general of the many influences which have doubtless contributed to this trend is the world-wide recognition of that much misunderstood and much misused idea of self-determination. Whatever we may think of its successes and failures, the thought has played a real part in the affairs of colonial Governments.

Another influence on behalf of the welfare of the Native people is the mandate conception of government. Ideals of government control and direction conceived under international auspices seem to be more directly based upon the conception of the general good of the people. Special privileges to the controlling Power are not so readily granted. The provisions for trusteeship are more effective. There is real hope that the ideals and methods of trusteeship as realized in the mandated areas will be extended to other areas through the power of good example.

The better attitudes of Governments are traceable also to the influence of outstanding colonial officers who through practical forms of control and scientific presentation of their methods and ideals have established high standards. Among the most notable of these officers is Sir Frederick Lugard, whose achievements in Nigeria will always be regarded as standards of practice, and whose book, *The Dual Mandate*, will long serve as

a classic on colonial administration. Other notable officers will doubtless occur to you. Personally I cannot refrain from mentioning with grateful appreciation the name of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, whose devotion to West Africa has taken the practical form of the foundation of Achimota College.

Among the more definite evidences of the newer attitudes of governments the following may be recorded :

1. The organization of the British Colonial Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa, an event of outstanding significance. The activities of this committee are increasingly commanding the grateful appreciation of all who believe in the educational development of the African people. There is reason to hope that other colonial Powers may organize similar committees. While the British Advisory Committee has done much to advance the cause of education, full credit must also be given to colonial governors and their associates for their splendid co-operation in Native education. Through them appropriations have been doubled, directors of education have been advanced to a higher status in the government schemes, and education has been made more effective.

2. Another attitude of equal importance is the increasing recognition of the right of the Native people to participate in government. Among the forms of this recognition the notable examples are the Transkeian Native Council in South Africa, elected membership to the Legislative Councils in British West Africa, and recent arrangements for the larger authority of Native chiefs and the recognition of tribal customs in Native affairs.

3. Government campaigns for health, hygiene and sanitation are now based on a larger conception of human welfare. The object is not merely the protection of Europeans, nor even the elimination of disease. The purpose is the healthful increase of Native population and the building up of a virile citizenship.

4. Possibly more important than all else, as an indication of sound governmental attitude, is the determination to adopt British standards in the selection of government servants. It can be confidently asserted that the British administrators are, as a class, among the finest men in the world. The attainments of these standards of service by other governments would be the best possible guarantee for the future of Africa.

Illustrations of government attitudes are unhappily not universally favourable. We cannot be indifferent to the recent action to establish the colour bar in South Africa, nor the willingness of certain Governments to be indifferent to various forms of forced labour, nor to the discouragement of the Native languages in government schools, nor to the failure of certain Governments to make adequate appropriations for the education of the Native people. While the number of Governments against which these injustices and failures may be charged is not large, it is sufficient to mar

government record. Civilization cannot afford to be indifferent to such injustices. There must be a determined protest until justice prevails.

Attitude of Economic Agencies. Of vital importance to Africa are the attitudes of men in commerce, industry and agriculture. We can no longer class the agents of these great human activities as the ' despised traders ' of pioneer days. President Lowell of Harvard University has recently said that ' Business is the oldest of the arts, and the newest of the professions.' Those who go to Africa to carry on commercial industry and agriculture are our neighbours in the homelands. They partake of the morals and morale of the business men of London, Paris, Brussels and New York, as well as of the farmers of rural Europe and America. Who dares say that their transfer to foreign countries transforms them from useful citizens into selfish exploiters ? Unfortunately there are notable instances of such transformations, but they must be classed with similar offenders of all classes in all countries.

The standards of economic activities have made notable improvement within the last few years. There is a new statesmanship in business which recognizes the essential importance of all that relates to the country and the people. The trader who was formerly interested only in the importation of goods of little value now understands that exports are equally important, if not more so. Commerce is learning that the power to purchase depends on the ability to produce ; that the power to produce is rooted in the general welfare of the people as a whole. Thus are the methods of foreign economic exchange being transformed from the artificial and superficial draining of resources and people to the policy of full development that makes for permanent welfare.

These new and happier attitudes of business are by no means as general as they should be. Evidences of selfish exploitation are still too numerous. A notable example seems to be that of the alliance of the Labour party in South Africa with the reactionary forces to impose a colour bar against the Native workers. It is to be hoped that such ebbs in the tide of progress will soon be turned by a more real democracy that will not tolerate class based merely on colour. But a new day has undoubtedly dawned. Better standards of labour and economic exchange in the homelands are gradually asserting themselves on behalf of the African.

Among the significant illustrations of helpful economic provisions and attitudes the following should be enumerated :

(*a*) Settlers' schools for Natives in Kenya ; (*b*) recreation centres maintained at a large cost in the Johannesburg Native compounds ; (*c*) hygienic provisions for the housing of Natives in the Katanga copper works ; and (*d*) workers' schools on the Congo railways. Probably more important than all other contributions of economic agents are the months and years spent in the training of Native workers in commerce, industry and agriculture. Much credit is due to Europeans and Asiatics under

whose direction Natives have been ' learning by doing ' many important lessons of civilization.

We cannot close our consideration of new economic influences in Africa without referring to the tremendous potentialities of the great East African plateaus extending with their rift valleys, lakes and magnificent mountains from the Red Sea down to the Cape of Good Hope. Such areas, capable of habitation and cultivation by people from the temperate zones, will inevitably attract a migration of varied populations that may change the whole character of Africa and Africans. Already there are more than a million and a half of Europeans in South Africa, over 30,000 in the Rhodesias and upwards of 10,000 in Kenya. Well may we ask whether these are the forerunners of Europeanized plains and plateaus that shall extend the whole length of East Africa and transform the future of Africa for good or for ill. There are signs that this may soon be the central problem of all Africa. Its ramifications for Africa and for the world surpass the powers of imagination.

Attitude of Missions. Mission policies reflect new attitudes of missionaries in every part of Africa. With genuine appreciation of missionary endeavours in the past, we can confidently assert that recent years have witnessed striking improvements. The reality of spiritual power and willingness to sacrifice remain ; but a new and richer meaning is now given to the message which they carry. For lack of time and because others can present the changes more effectively I can here only mention some of the more significant of the newer attitudes that are increasing in strength :

(1) First of all is the clearer understanding and appreciation of Native capacity and customs. There is less of pity and more of respect for the Africans and for their past. There is a greater willingness to work *with* rather than *for* the people. Recognition of these changes in mission policies must not be understood as a lack of appreciation of the missionaries of the past ; all who know missions must testify that missionaries were the first to share their lives with the primitive peoples of Africa. They dwelt among them, they learned their languages, they felt their sorrows, and were happy in their joys. But to-day there is entering a scientific quality into the researches of Native agriculture, Native traditions and Native life. The western conceits of nationality, of language and somewhat even of religion are being replaced by the meekness, the love, that inherits all.

(2) A second change of importance in missionary attitude is the widened conception of the Gospel. Services formerly rendered merely as incidents to the mission programme are now regarded as central and vital. The ministry of health is no longer merely a bait to attract the heathen people to hear the Gospel of Love. The body as the temple of the Holy Spirit is God's gift, worthy of the most sacred services. Cultivation of the soil is not merely the source of food, but co-operation with God in His

universe. Education is not limited to the three R's. It is life and religion for all. To give life and to give it more abundantly is now more truly than ever the desire and purpose of every missionary who really understands the Christian command.

(3) As a natural and inevitable consequence a third attitude has followed, namely, the determination to co-operate with God's children wherever they are, whatever their colour and their language, whatever their form of service, so long as the service is rendered in the spirit of Christian love. In this determination we have the harbinger of a new day, the promise of a unity that guarantees the coming of the Kingdom of Love in Africa.

Attitude of the Native People. The changing attitudes of the people of Africa are in a sense the most arresting and vital of all. The all controlling sense of fear, so characteristic of primitive life, is now passing. There is a new racial consciousness in every part of Africa, a new longing, an eager expectation, a desire and a determination to participate in local and in world affairs. The doctrine of self-determination has penetrated into unexpected places, whether for good or for ill. The Natives of Africa will hereafter insist on giving voice to their despairs, their grievances, their hopes and their determinations. The day of passive servility is rapidly passing and we shall do well to note the change. Hereafter we must increasingly work *with* rather than *for* the Natives who have these new attitudes.

International Attitudes. There is coming to pass a rapidly developing world consciousness of the African continent. Dense populations of Asia, of Europe and even of the Americas, are looking abroad for raw materials, to feed, to clothe, to house and to give pleasure to the ever-increasing masses. Inevitably they turn to the rich storehouses of Africa with its scant populations and its great potentialities. African cocoa, African rubber and African cotton are doubtless the forerunners of other African resources that will lure Asia, Europe and America into the heart of Africa.

But world interest is by no means limited to the thought of selfish exploitation. The power of international altruism must of necessity include Africa within the scope of its interest. The ideals of civilization cannot tolerate the continued neglect of any considerable part of the world. This conviction is not based on mere sentiment or what has been called 'wishful thinking,' for we have recently witnessed concrete evidences of international concern for Africa. Possibly the most significant of these evidences is the genuine interest manifested in the mandated government of Africa. There is a watchful waiting and an anxious care as to the results of the mandated form of government that may well give courage to all of us. The imperialistic designs and desires of European Governments in relation to Abyssinia have been noted throughout the civilized world.

Woe be unto them whose designs are based upon the principle of selfish exploitation rather than upon standards of justice and altruism. Internationally the Great Dark Continent is surely passing into that of great opportunities and greater responsibilities, national and international.

Co-operation for Africa and Africans

THUS we have seen that the most potent of the new forces in Africa are the new attitudes of Governments; of commerce, industry and agriculture; of missions; of Native people; and finally of international Powers. It is evident that each of these five factors concerned in the future of Africa is moved by attitudes that are dynamic and vital. The servility of a passive and static Africa is rapidly passing. We are to-day confronted by a living, eager, expectant Africa that threatens soon to be determined and possibly aggressive, both with forces within and without.

What of it all to us, convened as we are from every part of the civilized world to consider the welfare of Africa? Are we to accept this realization of dynamic attitudes with passive complacency? Is there anything which we can do to weld these divergent attitudes so that they may work together for the essentials of civilization, the welfare of Africa and Africans, and for the glory of the Divinity that rules us all? Fortunately there is a common attitude which combines all attitudes. Fortunately too there are here representatives of all the factors that count for the future of Africa. The spirit now most needed in behalf of Africa is the spirit of co-operation, 'Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels and have not charity I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.' Gifts of prophecy, knowledge and faith are of no avail without love. Bestowal of goods, willingness to be persecuted and burned count for nothing unless there be charity of mind. Fundamentally, co-operation must spring out of an attitude of mind towards others, a willingness to recognize their value and a determination to work with them so long as their objectives and their methods are sound. No longer should we work in water-tight *compartments.* Our service for Africa must be *departmental,* each an integral part necessary to the unity of the whole.

Human society is a unity. Though there are differentiations of tasks and responsibilities there is an identity of interest which should unite us in the support of every good cause. Governments have established order and are increasingly recognizing their responsibility for the welfare of the people. Commerce, industry and agriculture are developing the potentialities of material resources and gradually realizing that wealth and prosperity are directly related to a healthy and contented people. Missionaries have devoted themselves to the advancement of great spiritual truths and incidentally have taught the people the essentials of daily life. Now they are entering into a fuller understanding of the

implications of their Gospel. With reassuring interest they are eagerly seeking to know the all-inclusive relationships of religion. Natives too have entered the field of those who serve. They are no longer passive recipients of the favours of civilization.

Herein then is the true salvation, that each should look upon the other with grateful appreciation for services rendered. Thus shall the Kingdom of Love be established in Africa and everywhere, for it is the God of Love that unites us all.

CANON PHELPS STOKES followed with a brief address on Co-operation. He asked and answered three questions: What is co-operation? Why is it specially needed among Christian forces in Africa? How can it be effected?

1. He defined co-operation as association for common service. It did not require the giving up by co-operating agencies of their own independence or special points of view, but merely meant uniting for the accomplishment of certain tasks which they all believed in. He gave various illustrations of the spirit of co-operation, such as: the association of governments, missionary societies, Foundations and individuals in making possible the two Educational Commissions to Africa; the work of the General Education Board, established by Mr Rockefeller, in its efforts to improve educational, agricultural and living conditions in the Southern States; and the activities of the Inter-racial Commissions, which strive to prevent ill-will and friction between various racial groups and to advance the common welfare. What had been accomplished was made possible through the active working together of the state governments, various schools and colleges, Northerners and Southerners, white and black. 'We cannot have too much of the spirit of co-operation in missionary work when the agencies represented are worthy, the methods good and the goal high.'

2. Co-operation is specially needed in the African continent because of the magnitude of the field; the inclusiveness of the task; the crying need of Africa. In dealing with a group of people representing nearly one-tenth of the population of the globe, the problem is nothing short of bringing the Kingdom of God into a great Continent. 'This involves good government, education, public and private health, economic and social well-being, and moral and spiritual welfare. The accomplishment of such a gigantic task, which means helping Africa to become Christian in spirit and in life, is impossible unless government, missionary societies, Native leaders and public-spirited men of affairs all unite in tasks which can be best accomplished through a union of forces.' There is special need for co-operation between government and missionary agencies in providing adequate education for the Natives of Africa.

3. Co-operation can only be secured if the co-operating agencies are

willing to examine themselves in the spirit of humility so as to eliminate all ambitions or prejudices contrary to the spirit of Christ. The way in which three of the great Protestant Churches had recently been brought together in Canada was an example of how to effect co-operation. The method of securing co-operation could be summed up in being true to Christ and His teachings. 'If we could all unite every morning in a determination to live up to the full meaning of the first two words of the Lord's Prayer, the needed co-operation could be secured in all desirable fields of effort. What is needed in the difficult tasks of adjustment between inter-racial and all other groups is a full realization that all men are children of the same Father, and that they are all brethren in Christ. Christ succeeded in breaking down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile. He will break down all walls of prejudice which interfere with the coming of the Kingdom of God into the world if men and women will only yield their wills to His spirit.'

THE CONTACT OF EUROPE AND AFRICA

Speech by M. Louis Franck

WHEN one has travelled through Central Africa and knows something about the position of affairs there, two facts always seem to stand out. Central Africa has an area larger than all Europe, in which from 300 to 400 million could easily live. I do not think that more than from 30 to 35 million people are living there. That is one fact. The second fact is this—if you travel from the Sudan to the Zambezi you will everywhere love the African Native for his many and great qualities, both moral and intellectual; but you will observe that there is not to be found one monument, one building, one souvenir of the past. From the early days, as since the advent of the European in Central Africa, scarcely any progress has been made. The long space of time has gone without any real and fundamental approach to civilization. These two facts make it clear that the race, however great its qualities, however real its prospects of development, which thinly populates this vast territory, wants leadership from another race. It is not the only race in the world of which this statement would be true.

Two Mistaken Policies. Great errors have been made in the first efforts at leadership from Europe. In my mind there are two: the policy of imitation, and the policy of neglecting the moral aspect of life.

As to the policy of imitation, it is quite natural for every nation to believe that what they think good for themselves is good for the rest of mankind. We are apt to believe that ideas of paramount importance to us have the same effect on the mind of the Natives in Central Africa. A great Catholic missionary in Africa, when speaking of the problem of African mentality, once said to me, ' I want every finger of my hand, but I would gladly give two, one from each hand, to be for one minute within the head of that black man who is passing there. No one realizes how he is thinking. He is not thinking as I do, and he knows it.' I myself had a very curious experience of the truth of these words. King Albert wanted to have a line of aeroplanes in Central Africa, and we had a service working from Stanleypool to Stanleyville. When I was in the Congo I had to inaugurate the line at a remote place and arrived late, as officials often do. The aeroplanes had been there two days. I asked the officers who had brought them there how the Natives had taken it all. They replied that when the first aeroplane came down, the Natives fled to the wood, but when a man got out of the aeroplane they came back. The officers asked, ' What do you think about them ? ' and they said, ' Things

of Europeans.' That was a sufficient explanation for them. But the best was to come! Our officer told me that the Natives imagined that one of these aeroplanes was a male and the other a female. He asked them why. 'Oh,' they said, with a feeling of contempt that he should be so unintelligent, 'don't you remember that this one, the male, came down first to see if it was safe, so that the female might come down all securely?' It is the custom in that part of the country, as in many others, for the male bird, being the stronger, to come down first to find if it is safe, so that the more timid female may come to no harm.

The African way of thinking or reasoning is different from our own, especially because while we live among abstractions, the Native lives among real and concrete facts. He has not as yet the mind for abstractions. If you are going to apply to that Native mind the text-books, the school systems which you apply to Europeans, it is clear that you must fail to do good.

Another drawback in administration is that not enough importance is attached to the moral side of official action and to the white man's presence in Africa. Every man in Africa, no matter whether he is trader or civil servant, ought to know that he is a soldier in a good cause, and that if he does not behave rightly he may work endless harm. To my mind the great importance of missionary work is that it can help to keep the importance of the moral side in the forefront.

Some Practical Deductions. The consequences of what I have said are, first, that an educational system must be an education for life, but for the black man's life. I have been in schools—not in one of the important cities but in the heart of primitive Africa—where missionaries were trying to teach the poor black children French. I told them it was quite useless, just as it is useless to teach them Portuguese in a Portuguese colony, or English in an English colony. They are living in their own country, and we want Central Africa—at least that is my view—to remain a black man's country. General Smuts, with whom I was once discussing, said this to me, 'We want South Africa to be a white man's country.' I said to him, 'General, that is your affair. But our view is quite different.' We want Central Africa to be a country for the black man. We will lend him every help to develop his country. We will do what we can to build up again the race, that it may be much healthier, much more prosperous than it is at the present time and much more efficient. If we do that we shall not have wasted our time even from the economic side. But we want Africa to remain the country we found it, the country which God made, the country of the black peoples, not populated by third-class Europeans but populated by better Africans.

If we want to do that we must instruct the Natives in their own language first. To think that if you teach these Natives pidgin English, pidgin French or pidgin anything else you give them a higher mental

evolution or development is quite wrong. How are they going to express what they want if not in their own language ?

Then they have their own Native institutions. General De Meulemeester, who was formerly one of the Belgian officials there, will remember that when European justice was formulated under white judges at the larger centres it was very good justice for all the cases these judges tried. But they were not able to try one in a thousand. Often the Natives had to travel two or three weeks when called as witnesses, and then wait as long for the case to come on. Meantime the Native husbands did not know what their wives were doing, and the Native wives did not know what their husbands were doing ! The Natives while travelling had to eat food they were not used to, they met with disease, some of them died on the way. They found that after all it was inconvenient to have the truth discovered, and it was much too difficult for them to have one of their fellow-men punished. Now we have given the power to try cases of importance to white officials on the spot ; it has been a great success. But we have done more. We have decided to confirm and develop the judicial power of the chief ; we have organized courts for the chiefs. General De Meulemeester has organized more than 200 of these. The moral standing of these chiefs has been enhanced, and consequently their tribesmen look upon them with more respect than they did before.

Let me give you an instance of how the Belgian administration is trying to train and use Africans. Tropical diseases have spread as means of communication have increased. The task of fighting these diseases was overwhelming. The white doctors were apt to take the view that their presence was absolutely necessary. But what are you going to do when we have 250 white doctors—a fair proportion compared with other colonies—in a colony like the Congo, 250 doctors for an area as large as Britain, France, Belgium, Germany taken together ? We think that if tropical diseases are to be fought the black race is able to contribute and themselves lend help in this fight. When that idea was explained to some of our medical men they said it would be quite impossible to do it unless we were going to train Africans in public schools and give them from five to seven years' university training. We decided instead to give them three years' practical training in a hospital, with some very elementary notes on the main important tropical diseases. The medical authorities urged that a doctor would not be very valuable with that training ; I replied that it was better to have a doctor of that kind than none at all. General De Meulemeester will tell you that our plan is becoming a very serious success. The black man takes naturally to becoming a doctor ; he likes it. It may be quite true that often he does not give the exact dose—he gives an average of it. But he cures people nevertheless. I may quote a case in point.

I was informed that, owing to the pressure of post-war times, the

doctor in one of our stations had been called to another place more than six months before, but the hospital had been kept going by the black assistant. I must say that we were a little afraid. I sent an inspector to the hospital. When he came back he said, 'That black man has not done badly; all the illnesses which had been treated formerly in his presence by the white doctor have been well treated by him on the same lines; of those diseases which he did not know the treatment has been a little adventurous.' Some Native women there were suffering from special diseases. He did not well know what to do with them, so he kept them under lock and key. I hope you will forgive me for treating the matter in this lively fashion, but you will see the force of what I mean. Several of these Native medical assistants in over one thousand examinations by miscroscope have not made one error. Several left in charge of a district to follow the treatments begun by a white doctor have done it with the greatest conscientiousness and care.

There is another thing. The partially trained Native is rather prone to think that he is already a very learned gentleman, but this drawback sometimes has good effect. When he has gone through a Native school for medical assistants, and going back to his village stands face to face with the witch doctor, who is one of the greatest of the curses of Africa, he says to the witch doctor, 'You are an ass'; and not only does he say this, he proves it. He tells the witch doctor in the presence of the chiefs, 'Why do you talk of the evil spirits? Come and look through my microscope; it is these things that cause disease. You don't know anything about it; I do.' The effect of this little bit of medical education is that the Native doctor is held in great respect, and the effect upon Native chiefs is very striking. Not long ago at one of the meetings of these Native courts the chiefs offered half their income to buy the 606 remedy. That is the beginning of a feeling of devotion to general interests.

Importance of Economic Factors. Whatever may be the importance of the moral side and of respect for Native institutions, economic factors have also a paramount importance in raising the standard of civilization. When we build a railway in Central Africa, or make roads, or inaugurate a motor-car service, it may seem that we are only working for our own selfish aims. It is not so. We are freeing the Native from the great burden of the portage service. We also introduce in a practical form an idea of liberty to leave the places where they suffer from ill treatment or abuse at the hands of their chiefs. No Power could at present by a decree suppress domestic slavery in Africa, but the railway and the steamer have done much to suppress it, because when the slave is badly treated he steals away at night. He goes either by the train or by the steamer, and he is never given back with the authority of the white man. The chief knows that if any slave has left him, there is no hope of recovery. That is the method of introducing European ideas which I like, because it does not

go to work at once and try to sweep away old institutions by one blow and leave nothing in their place. There are also problems of labour in Africa. I have often heard in various colonies where I have been—French, Belgian or others—that the black man in Central Africa is a lazy fellow who does not like to work. I must say I much doubt whether European labourers would like to work under the conditions which are offered to black labourers in Africa.

Where the black labourer is underpaid because he is supposed to give an inferior sort of labour, and badly cared for, he turns out to be, although paid only a few farthings, perhaps the most costly worker in the service if you consider fairly all the results. But if a European company in Africa has the concession of a mine in a part of the country where there are no miners, or is building a manufactory in such part of the country, and is prepared to build good villages to induce people to settle there, with schools and other advantages, the Native people who come there will do the work which has to be done. In Africa and in all primitive countries industry and commercial enterprise should be undertaken on these lines. Not only should the husbands come to these areas, but the necessary accommodation and means should be supplied for their wives and children. Also there should be land that could be cultivated as the population grows up. I think the State and its administrators ought to set a good example, and if the ordinary man is not allowed forced labour, the State ought not to claim it.

No great work of civilization can be accomplished in a country like Central Africa without economic development. It is absolutely necessary to keep balance between these two factors—the progress of the Native population and the economic development of the country. No colonization is good which does not have this dual aim before it. You as missionaries are playing a great part in that great work. I know there are still men who believe that colonization is a dreadful invention of the greedy white man. But all white men in Africa are doing or must do their part in the duty of bringing this country to a higher level. The merchant, the farmer, the engineer, must contribute. The officials and the soldiers also do a great part in that work. But they ask from the Native in return taxes and service. The Native knows this. It is only you missionaries who are giving the Native by your life and your example an illustration of that great disinterested service and self-sacrifice which is, after all, the best civilization and one for which it is worth while to live and die.

THE MEDICAL TASK OF MISSIONARIES IN AFRICA

I. Extract from Speech by Dr Broden

The Belgian Medical Service. Of recent years the Belgian service has been notably extended and the present organization can be considered as one of the best in Africa. There is the central staff, including the Doctor-in-Chief and his associates, the provincial doctors ; the hygienists in charge of the work of applying sanitary measures ; and the laboratory doctors, making analyses, preparing vaccine and carrying on scientific researches. Finally there are many medical practitioners, whose duty is to give treatment to patients, both white and black. Some of these doctors are permanently established in more or less important stations. Others, especially those in charge of medical assistance to the Natives, visit the villages for prophylaxis and for treatment of tropical diseases.

The numbers of doctors at present in the service of state in the Belgian Congo is now nearly one hundred. No one will deny that this number of doctors is still insufficient for this immense colony. The Belgian Government is the first to recognize that fact, and have made plans for an increase of thirty doctors next year. As assistants of the state medical service, there are a few pharmacists, who are occupied in the large stations with the requisition, conservation and distribution of the many necessary medical supplies ; there are also twenty-four qualified nurses, most of whom are attached to hospitals or laboratories ; a few take part in the medical assistance to the Natives. Several hospitals are also staffed with Roman Catholic nurses. The sanitary agents number about fifty-two, and increase continually. These are young men who have had a good education, either in universities or high schools. After four months' preparation in the School of Tropical Medicine in Brussels, they join the medical service as assistants to the doctors. They are exceedingly helpful in the fight against sleeping sickness.

In the whole Belgian Colony Native medical assistants are found in large numbers, both with the doctors in the hospitals, and in the special expeditions which fight sleeping sickness. All are not equally competent. Some have been trained by a longer or shorter period of practical work in hospital ; others have previously taken a theoretical course of studies covering from one to three years.

In order to get a greater number of Native assistants with a good theoretical and practical preparation, the Belgian Government, soon after the war, established schools for Native assistants in different stations of the Congo. Well educated, supervised and regularly inspected, these

Native assistants can render their black brethren the greatest service. We already find some of them at the head of rural dispensaries in the Province Orientale of the Colony, and their number is rapidly increasing. It is hardly necessary to say that the recruiting of young Natives able to read and write is not always easy. Often in their impatience to obtain well-paid situations they cannot submit themselves to school discipline for three years. Missionaries can help a great deal in the recruiting.

We trust that in a short time Native nurses and Native midwives will be added to the Native medical staff.

Auxiliary Medical Staff. The State has further organized an auxiliary medical staff through the different religious missions. The missionaries, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, can acquire at the School of Tropical Medicine in Brussels a medical training sufficient to enable them to diagnose and treat the principal diseases of the tropical countries. The Government gives them microscopical equipment and the essential medicines. Under certain conditions an annual subsidy in money has been granted. The Protestant missions have on their staff at least twenty-five doctors. At the Jesuit mission at Kisantu, a great hospital and research laboratory in connexion with the Louvain University will soon be opened. There will be added to it a school for Native medical assistants and midwives. This auxiliary medical service, established by the missions, can render the Natives great service. The number of mission stations is considerable, and the Natives come willingly to be treated. We have reason to hope that mission stations will become the best recruiting ground for young Natives sufficiently educated to become good medical assistants. The missionary medical service must work in close collaboration with the doctors of the Colony and under their control.

The Medical Service of Commercial Companies. In the Belgian Congo, the doctors of commercial companies number not less than seventy-six. They are reinforced by lay or religious nurses, by European sanitary agents and by Native assistants. These organizations are primarily concerned with the treatment of the European and Native employees of the companies ; nevertheless, they are attentive to the various needs of the Natives in the villages. As an example, one of the Belgian companies in the Kasai District has organized a special expedition, including three doctors, several sanitary agents and many Native assistants for the prophylaxis of sleeping sickness. A similar work has been done by a British Company in the Kwango District.

The Red Cross in the Belgian Congo. The Red Cross began to help the medical service of the Congo State more than twenty-five years ago. At first, aid for the European was in view, but lately a section has been organized to give medical aid to the Natives. Within a few months, two posts have been opened in the north-east of the Congo, and are visited by several hundred wretched people every month. Two doctors, one

qualified nurse-midwife, two sanitary agents and some Native assistants can hardly suffice to take care of the crowds of patients. It will soon be necessary to find means to extend the field of action.

The Hospital Ship of Governor Lippens is a great work and the latest begun. In the course of his travels in the Congo, the Governor was impressed by the difficulty of giving regular medical care to the population along the rivers. In the near future a boat of one hundred tons, with a doctor and assistants, will visit regularly the different stations and villages on the river. White men and black will alike receive surgical and medical help. This hospital ship will have later a purely scientific section, to which will be entrusted the study of diseases of men and animals.

General Comments. A bird's-eye view of all this medical work in the Belgian Congo compels one to acknowledge that the effort made has been considerable. But we must make incessant progress. It is not sufficient to keep adults alive, to shelter them from disease, it is needful to think of the children; it is urgent to ensure the conservation of the Native tribes. We cannot examine here the vast question of the birth-rate and infant mortality in the Congo. Let us note with pleasure that the *Œuvre Nationale de l'Enfance* of Belgium has taken up this question and is co-ordinating the somewhat diffused efforts of private initiative.

In the Congo, medical and surgical help have been generally free, except in a few special circumstances where a small fee was required of Natives for the treatment of certain diseases. We believe that in the interest of the Natives themselves a system of payment, either partial or total, might be more widely introduced. If once understood by the Natives, this would make possible the extension of medical stations and rural dispensaries.

A few illustrations may be given to show how readily the Natives come to us for medical advice. In the new mandated district of Ruanda and Urundi, our medical work began two years after the war. In 1924 the four dispensaries had no less than 170,000 visits, 132,000 of these being from Natives living in the villages. The medical post of the Red Cross at Pawa (Ituri), founded only a few months ago, treated during the four months from March till June, 5853 Natives, who paid over 17,000 visits. A medical expedition working in the Kwango District examined about 500,000 Natives in two years, 50,000 receiving several injections of atoxyl.

The progress of sleeping sickness gravely concerns the future of the Bantu tribes in Central Africa. Great progress has been made since the war. A few years ago, with the drugs known to us, victims of this illness could only be cured in the first stage. Now, thanks to tryparsamide, many in an advanced stage have been cured. The use of this new medicine has enabled us to penetrate the regions infected by the tsetse fly and to get into touch with the Natives. Experiments with new and powerful drugs are being carried on, and it is very likely that in the near future one may be protected against the trypanosomes by a few injections.

The Social Task. The doctor cannot interest himself only in medical work. General hygiene and the housing and food of the Native tribes attract his attention. We cannot examine in detail the improvements still needed in Native houses, principally in the villages, nor say much about the insufficiency of Native clothing, though care in these particulars will best protect the Native against several diseases. As to food, all who have lived in Central Africa recognize that in general the African is underfed, that his alimentary ration of animal albumine is often insufficient. An examination of the causes of this deplorable situation, and of the means to prevent it, cannot be attempted here. But we must indicate the urgent need of getting the Native to improve his methods of culture, to increase the area of cultivated ground and, above all, to go in for rational breeding. Hens, goats and pigs can be raised everywhere, but we must guide and help the Native to modify his antiquated methods. It is for the white man to introduce good cattle for breeding ; this is one of the most complicated, one of the most interesting, but also one of the most arduous questions in the colonization of tropical Africa.

For the missionaries, without distinction of creed, what share can be proposed in this task ?

1. **Medical Aid.** The organization already adopted in some missions should be extended to all centres ; that is to say, there should be at every mission station at least one missionary or nurse with a certificate in tropical medicine, to treat the principal tropical diseases ; if this missionary be a doctor of medicine, his field of service of course will be wider. The missionary doctor or sanitary agent should be assisted by one or more Native men and women nurses. Around the residence of the missionary, in villages not too far distant, there should be organized dispensaries, run by Native men and women nurses. The Native nurses (male or female) and the midwives should be trained in government schools or in those that medical missionaries have organized or will organize. This Native medical staff should be closely supervised by the missionaries. It is hardly necessary to say that the present constant collaboration between the medical service of missionaries and that of the Government should be continued and rendered if possible still closer.

2. **Social Action.** I am not competent to attempt a definition of the various aspects of the important social task that missions have always undertaken in Central Africa. But I beg to be allowed to call attention to the importance of the feeding of the Bantu Negro. It is necessary to improve his alimentary ration. The example of the plantations and cattle breeding at the mission station, the lessons given to improve antiquated methods of cultivation, will give good results. History has shown us examples of what the goodwill, the continuity, the teaching of the missionaries can do. Let us recall the Middle Ages : it was often the monks who taught the people to cultivate the soil properly and to store

provisions. It was in the stables of the abbeys that the best methods of breeding were studied and applied. It was to the monks that the sick man came for help and curing. Assisted by the methods of contemporary science, encouraged and helped by Government, our modern missionaries should see more extensive and more rapid results than their predecessors of the Middle Ages.

II. Statement by Dr Louise Pearce

NO one appreciates more fully than the missionary that the basic problems of public health, hygiene and sanitation are fundamental in the development of the African peoples and of Africa. Although these problems differ in kind as well as in relative importance in various parts of the continent, it is universally admitted that African sleeping sickness is one of the most serious as well as one of the most difficult of solution. The disease has assumed vast and unforeseen proportions due in part to the large areas in which it is endemic and to the rapidity and ease with which new districts are infected, in part to the significant proportion of population infected and also to the fact that an entirely satisfactory method of treatment has not hitherto been available. It is evident that a successive solution of the many aspects of this problem must involve the co-operation of all agencies vitally concerned in African affairs.

From a practical standpoint and taking into account the great size of infected districts, the control and probably the ultimate eradication of sleeping sickness will largely depend upon efficient treatment of patients upon a wholesale scale. At present, the value of prophylactic treatment of non-infected persons is problematical. One can be reasonably sure of a large measure of success as far as the treatment of patients is concerned, by the use of the drug tryparsamide, employed upon a sufficiently large scale. This drug has been used in hundreds of cases of sleeping sickness by many physicians in Africa during the past six years, and it is the general consensus of opinion that not only is it the most effective agent now known for the treatment of this disease but that, in addition, it possesses a definitely curative action for the majority of patients. Its therapeutic effect is manifested not only in early stages of the disease, but also in the late stages which, in general, have proven intractable to treatment with other drugs. It also possesses the desirable attribute of being easily administered.

Without appearing unduly optimistic, it is not too much to say that the time is not far distant when African sleeping sickness may be numbered among the conquered plagues that have affected mankind. But before this end is assured, an enormous amount of work will have had to be accomplished. The service that medical missionaries may render in this connexion is of the greatest importance. At the present time, the many

mission stations in tropical Africa are valuable centres of medical service, but with an increased number of stations and of personnel, together with greater co-operation among the missions themselves as well as with other agencies interested in the same problem, notably the several Governments, it is certain that the incidence of sleeping sickness could be materially diminished within a few years.

The nature and scope of the problem, however, demand a well-considered and broad program of procedure. Such questions as the territory to be covered by each station, the training of Native assistants to administer the treatment, and the particular system of tryparsamide therapy to be followed are typical of the many that must be decided in advance. Furthermore, to avoid duplication of work and to ensure the widest application of such a program, it is essential that the work be carried out in connexion with government efforts along similar channels.

It would appear to one who has some familiarity with African problems and who has had first-hand information of the sleeping sickness work accomplished by a number of medical missionaries, that a unique opportunity lies before the various mission boards, whereby co-operative action on their part, in conjunction with government agencies, would eventually lead to the control and ultimate eradication of African sleeping sickness.

PROGRESS IN AFRICA

Speech by Sir Frederick Lugard

WE have been privileged to listen during the past few days to many addresses of the greatest possible interest. Speakers with a lifetime's experience have described their difficulties and dwelt on the magnitude of the opportunity presented at the present day in Africa. I propose this evening to recall to your minds some of the indications of the progress made, from which we may draw encouragement. I am more especially prompted to do so because Professor Buell, who at the instance of his University—Harvard—has recently completed a long tour of investigation in Africa, told us that in his judgment the struggle to bring civilization to Africa has been a failure. Of his ability, his capacity for probing into the essentials of a question, and his extraordinary industry, we have all, I think, been fully convinced—but I challenge his conclusions in this particular.

Co-operation in International Policies

WE have heard so much of the word 'co-operation,' that I am almost afraid to name it, yet we have heard little of co-operation in national policies and standards, and of the remarkable evidences of national interest in the well-being of Africa. I would place this fact of international consensus in new and better standards in the dealings of western civilization with the people of Africa in the forefront of the evidences of progress to which I refer. This Conference itself is a striking illustration ; it has brought together missionaries, administrators, authors and men of affairs, with no other object in view than to discuss how best civilization, health, freedom and truth can be brought to the primitive races.

We are enjoying the hospitality of Belgium, and we have received various messages of sympathy from her King. I would remind you that the Colonial International Institute, which has its headquarters in Brussels, has done excellent work in the study of African problems. It has recently expressed a desire to extend its British membership, and with the assistance of Professor Newton I have been able to submit a list of some dozen distinguished candidates for effective membership. In London the Colonial and Dominions Section of the Royal Society of Arts, the Royal Colonial Institute, the African Society and the African Group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs are all anxious to invite distinguished foreigners to describe the policy and progress of their colonies and so to promote closer touch. At the end of June last a new International Institute, for the study of African Languages and Cultures, was inaugurated

with its headquarters in London. To the funds of this Institute the Laura Spelman Foundation in the U.S.A. has given liberal assistance, while the Phelps-Stokes Fund, also of the U.S.A., has sent, as you know, two Commissions to Africa to study education, and the Rockefeller Foundation has greatly assisted in research and medicine.

The Mandate System. But perhaps the most notable instance of the new spirit of co-operation is to be found in the system of Mandates inaugurated by the Treaty of Versailles, and in the terms of Article 22, which laid down the principle that the colonies of Germany and Turkey left derelict by the war form 'a sacred trust for civilization,' and that it is the duty of the Mandatory Powers to guide and assist their evolution till they can stand alone. The Mandates Commission set up by the League consists of ten members of different nationalities and includes several who have held high office in the colonies. The discussions of this Commission on every branch of administration during their review of the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers has, I think, done much to promote mutual knowledge and to create standards. In November next a committee of experts will assemble at Geneva under the auspices of the International Labour Organization to examine the question of native labour. These are notable indications of a new spirit of co-operation which will before long, I hope, include the best elements in Africa itself.

When we look back some three or four decades and recall the time when international boundaries were as yet undetermined and Africa was cursed by the rivalries of the European Powers with their claims to sovereignty over this or that unexplored region—claims based on so-called treaties made with chiefs who did not understand their meaning and had no legal right to cede their territories—we can realize the progress which has been achieved. In those days the fear of encroachment on their frontiers was the chief preoccupation of the Powers which claimed ill-defined 'spheres of influence.' With the removal of this cause of friction there is nothing to hinder co-operation and the growing sense of responsibility. Abyssinia alone remains a great slave state in which the practices of the past still survive, unrestrained by the coercive force of the public opinion of the world.

Co-operation in Economic Development. The Powers in control have to a greater or less degree begun to realize that while the duty of developing the resources and markets of Africa for the benefit of mankind was a part of the obligation devolving upon them, they have no right to exclude others from participation in the task. This principle gained international acceptance in the clause of the African Mandates which stipulated for equal commercial opportunity for all States members of the League, among which the United States of America claimed for this purpose to be included. Great Britain and Belgium extend this principle to all their dependencies in Africa.

Trusteeship for Moral Welfare and Education. On the non-material side

even greater progress has been made in the realization of the obligation to guide the child-races of Africa towards a future—however distant—when they shall be able 'to stand alone in the strenuous conditions of the modern world.' The particular regions to which these words in Article 22 of the Covenant refer had no exceptional claim to such treatment, and the British Government announced to the world, in a state paper shortly after the Mandates came into operation, that it recognized this principle of trusteeship for the moral welfare of the subject races as no less applicable to all its African dependencies than to the territories which it held under Mandate.

International recognition of this principle marks a stage in the progress of Africa and not less in the evolution of the standards of thought of the civilized nations, comparable only to the awakening of the conscience of civilization which a hundred years ago led to the suppression of the export of Negroes seized by force to become slaves in the New World. We must look to the growing force of public opinion to ensure its application in practice throughout Africa.

Its most important manifestation, so far, lies, I think, in the recognition of the fact that the subject races have a mentality of their own, that they have traditions, and customs, and an appreciation of the supernatural and spiritual which has formed the basis of their social evolution—primitive though it be. To-day it is no longer accounted to be absurd to doubt whether systems of government and administration, systems of education, even systems of religion which western nations have evolved as the outcome of their own mentality, are 'sealed-pattern' models by the faithful acceptance of which progress only was possible. This recognition of the necessity of adaptation in the largest sense—or in some cases of evolution from systems not based on western models—is still only slowly gaining acceptance. But it has made great progress of late, especially in the sphere of education. Here, thanks in great measure to the liberality and initiative of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, to the pioneer work done in the United States of America, to the tours and teaching of Dr Jesse Jones and his colleagues, and to the large vision of Mr J. H. Oldham, who has done much to set these forces at work in Africa, progress can be recorded, though it is just to say that the new principles were already recognized and in operation here and there before the war ended. Of late the milestones have succeeded each other so rapidly that we may be apt to forget that we are still going uphill.

The illuminating and instructive addresses to which we have listened make it unnecessary for me to do more than remind you of some of the milestones.

(1) It is now generally recognized that it is more important to educate the mass of the population, in a manner which shall improve the standards of life and conduct of the community, than to endeavour to make imitation Europeans of a small section by a literary education crowned by a university degree.

(2) It is recognized that education must be a process of evolution based on African modes of thought, tradition and environment and not an attempt to substitute a European mind for an African mind, and that the Native languages are the expression of Native thought.

(3) It is recognized that the creation of right standards is of vastly greater importance in the social and moral progress of a people than the production of a few brilliant scholars.

We have gone far in the last few years in establishing the methods by which the new aims of education may be achieved, but there are many milestones ahead of us. We have to obtain the recognition of these principles by the best and most thoughtful Africans. We have to gain their recognition of the fact that the professions of medicine, of teaching and of productive industry, are of greater value in the progress of the race than that of arguing as a barrister in a Court of Law ; we have to eradicate the contempt for manual labour.

We have to create the necessary machinery—the village schools, the new text-books, the new staff—European and Native—and the scientific study of the vernaculars. We have to promote co-operation in the task, not merely between the teaching departments of the Government and of missions—but a recognition of the fact that every government department and trading concern is, for better or for worse, an educational agency.

New Methods of Government

I SPOKE in the second place of progress in new methods of government, but this again is only the application in a different sphere of the fundamental principle of evolution on Native lines already described. Here, as in the curriculum and methods of the old-time Education Department, we have introduced into Africa European systems gradually evolved through the centuries to suit European mentality, in blind and unthinking confidence that what has—or ought to have—proved the best for us, must, of course, be best for Africa. The people, we say, in the catchwords of modern democracy, must have an opportunity of expressing their wishes and recording their dissent from the measures proposed by Government regardless of the standpoint of Native customary law in such matters. Therefore, Legislative Councils must be formed on the models of Europe with set rules of procedure and debate, and the elective principle must be introduced to conform to the European model. Lawyers and other intelligentsia in the coast cities in Nigeria become 'Members' for interior regions which they may probably never have seen, and which are, I am told, quite unaware of—and in some cases would resent—the fact that they are represented by an Honourable Member on the Council.

Our task in Africa is, I submit, to eradicate the servile habit of mind bred by generations of slavery and of acceptance of the rule of force and tyranny.

This can only be done by inculcating a sense of personal and collective responsibility and initiative. The village and tribal leaders must learn to think and act for the community. Little by little they must learn to adjudicate on minor disputes and offences, to assess and collect the tax, and to handle small sums of money for the common good. Later, or where a higher state of social evolution has already been reached, they can be entrusted with increasing management of their own affairs. The system of elected councillors to the Legislative Council who represent nothing but a small clique of the population of a particular city, is not progress as I conceive it. Nor does the system follow its supposed European model in its most essential features. The rural districts and the provincial cities of England manage their own affairs, as we all know, through parish and district and county councils and municipal boards. The counterpart of these, based on African institutions, should in Africa precede the franchise for the Legislative Council. On the other hand, the principle of allowing the more advanced communities a certain measure of self-rule is increasingly recognized. Europeans cannot effectively replace the tribal chief. They are dependent for the most part on their interpreters and are ignorant of the practices perpetrated in their name by the agents they are compelled to employ—court messengers, political agents, police and others. These agents of the white man can do as they please, and their doings are hard to detect. The black man may outwardly conform to such rules and regulations as to sanitation and the like, on which the white man insists. He accepts the white man's methods of justice (though they occasionally leave him in bewilderment when a criminal is let off on some legal technicality) but he is living his own separate life all the time. Real and permanent progress, I submit, can only be achieved by a painstaking endeavour to appreciate the Native's point of view, and to enlist his co-operation and as far as possible to let him carry out the policy of reform in his own way, by the light of his own customs and beliefs.

The Teaching of Religion

I REFERRED in the third place, speaking of alien institutions superimposed on African methods of thought, to the subject of religion. In the presence of so many devoted men and women who have spent long years in missionary work it would be presumptuous on my part to venture opinions. But none know better than those engaged in this work among how many so-called Native Christians religion is less than skin deep, and among how few it creates a spiritual influence strong enough to replace inherited superstitions. Is it not possible, I speak with diffidence, to introduce some measure of adaptation in the teaching of religion by selecting those qualities in the African mind most in harmony with Christian ethics, and such tribal traditions as have in them a nucleus of good, and

grafting upon them the cuttings which shall bear a better fruit? Doubtless few here would agree with me were I to go further and suggest that, in such matters as do not affect the vital principles of Christian ethics, the religion of the temperate zone and of a civilized environment might be relaxed in its adaptation to the tropics and the conditions of African life. In such a matter, for instance, as polygamy, there is much to be said from the point of view of the wife as well as of the husband, provided that it is regulated and restricted.

I have left myself no time to refer to other matters in which we can record substantial progress in Africa. Such, for instance, as the universal reprobation of forced and compulsory labour for private profit, and the notable advance in the conditions of wage labour contained in the Ordinances of all the African dependencies. I do not say that there are no exceptions in practice, but it is a long step forward to have made these practices illegal. I hope that before long we may reach a further point and see the complete abolition of the tax in labour—the 'prestation'—and the substitution of a tax in money, so that labour if offered will be paid its due wage, and the tax paid later to the proper recipient. Nor have I time to record progress in the matter of the liquor traffic or the very notable advance in medical aid to the Natives—in sanitation and research and in many other directions.

I should have liked, too, to have alluded to the many possibilities for co-operation among those who are working in any particular dependency, as distinct from the international co-operation to which I have referred. I am inclined, for instance, to think that European ladies might take a larger share than at present in co-operating with agencies of progress as, for example, by representing female education on Advisory Education Boards, organizing Girl Guides, and participating in medical institutions for maternity work and infant welfare, etc. Again, residents in a Mandated Territory can co-operate with the Mandates Commission, whose sources of information are limited to the annual report of the Mandatory Power. In the five or six years during which I have been the British member of the Commission, I do not recollect that we have received a single communication from the missionaries and other residents in any one of the fourteen Mandated Territories.

Finally, I might have alluded to the progress made on the material side by the introduction of mechanically-propelled vehicles to replace human porterage—a relic of the old slave caravans which ought no longer to be tolerated by civilized Powers.

Workers in Africa, whether officials or missionaries, are continually confronted with the difficulties of the task and perhaps sometimes they cannot see the wood for the trees. They may, I hope, find encouragement in recalling the solid progress made, to which they have so largely contributed—on a few indications of which I have touched.

BLACK AND WHITE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Speech by Professor Macmillan

IT is good for South Africans to be here to realize in such a meeting as this how South Africa, in spite of its own perplexities, is but a fringe and fraction of a still greater African whole. But it is good also that those from Tropical Africa should be here to-day to learn more of the difficulties of South Africa where the contact of Black and White is older, and has provided so much experience, if only by way of awful warning of what may be the disastrous results of race contact unless it be guided by study, thought and higher influences.

The danger in such a Conference is to over-emphasize the hardships of the black peoples. The more I live and work, the more I am myself conscious of the danger of being driven by some hard facts of history to an almost blind negrophilism. But such partiality will not do. The Whites in this matter have a case and a point of view that cannot be ignored. There is a certain dire inevitability about the process which has created the present South African situation. Europeans came to South Africa not in the spirit of conquerors but as colonists, struggling with the immense difficulties of space, drought and lack of ready means of transport. They could only be pastoralists. They must often spread themselves over the interior in search of pasture, or starve. They could not learn intensive agriculture and live like small peasants in Europe. But in the course of two and a half centuries their inevitable expansion has made them owners of far the greater part of the land, till now there is no more land for expansive and extensive farming on the old lines, and unhappily also less than enough land to meet the needs of the Native inhabitants. Be it recognized, however, that the function of the European colonists has been, like that of the colonists of North America, to reclaim part of a continent for civilization from barbarism, and that from the colonist point of view their task of civilization has been carried through in the face of prolonged opposition from the Native peoples, and that their pioneers suffered dangers untold at the hands of Natives. The pioneer trekkers therefore are the national heroes of the Europeans, and Europeans in South Africa have less sympathy to spare for the present hard lot of the African Natives than is just and right.

Further, the process of colonization has now reached a climax. The land is so fully taken up that the children of the pioneers can no longer

make ends meet by the old farming methods, which are all they know. In nearly half the districts of the Union the European rural population is steadily declining and a great stream of unskilled, untrained, landless Europeans is drifting into the towns. At the same time the economic pressure on the Natives and their acute land shortage are forcing more and more Natives to eke out a living by wage earning. The dominant fact of the present situation is the clash of competition between these two streams of almost equally unskilled and needy people. Their only possible outlet is in the unskilled labour market, and there the position of the Whites is peculiarly dangerous since they have to compete with a race who can live at a far lower standard. Their position is that of war-time mechanics in Europe in face of ' dilution ' by cheaper women workers —with far more desperate complications.

In this situation it is not a matter for wonder that Europeans in South Africa are under the influence of a terrible fear. But in one respect their fears are exaggerated. It is the prevailing belief, backed not so much by the figures as by the Report of the 1921 Census, that the Blacks are increasing so much more rapidly than the Whites as to threaten to swamp white civilization by mere numbers. With caution, and a due sense of responsibility, I would point out that proportionately, on the showing of the Census itself, the Native increase is hardly as great as that of the Europeans, and further that each Native census tends to be more complete and accurate than the last, and therefore that even the apparent Native increase is probably exaggerated. So far from Native increase giving grounds for fears of swamping, the rate of increase is already so slow that there may rather prove to be a shortage of Native labour in South Africa.

Again, the fears of the Whites have too little regard for desperate Native needs. Whites in South Africa tend to forget, or do not know, that even now hardly half the Native population have any roots in the land, and that even those living in the reserves are largely and increasingly dependent for their bare existence on wages earned in European employment. They must live by wage earning, or starve. But in face of this fact they are met by the disastrous expedient of a Colour Bar in industry. The Government's new Native policy unhappily takes little account of this fact and of this landless class.

If there is to be any economic way out it is necessary for Europeans to realize the fearful poverty of South Africa, in spite of its Golden Rand. A prosperous community is impossible where, as in areas I have investigated, the consuming or spending power of Natives may be so low as even to average £1 per family per mensem. It is an old story that the Native policy of Europeans is dominated by consideration of the Native as a mere producer. As one has pointed out, this comes back to the Aristotelian definition of the slave as one who is not an end in himself, a mere

' animated tool ' and not a complete man. Slavery as an institution may have died in 1834 but the idea of slavery lives on. Regard for the Native as a potential consumer is the only way out. If families I have referred to were spending even £2 a month instead of £1, the effect of the increased turnover would be revolutionary, would afford a new outlet for the products of industry, and make new openings for the Whites themselves by a general increase of spending power and employment.

In this last suggestion, emphasizing the importance of the Native as a consumer, I am quoting from the wisdom of perhaps the best abused of all missionaries, Dr John Philip, who more than a century ago was urging this consideration on the Cape Government of his day. For six years past I have been working through Dr Philip's papers and I feel that it may be my privilege to help to secure the rehabilitation of this great pioneer. In Philip's day South Africa lived through its first Colour Question, concerning as it did then only the Hottentots. By Philip's efforts the Hottentots, who were already landless, were saved from being a proletariat without rights. And to-day the descendants of the Hottentots, as the ' coloured ' people, are recognized as a ' civilized ' people, exempt from the Colour Bar.

The present danger is that the Bantu, who stand to-day, though in far greater numbers, very much where the Hottentots stood then, may by desperate pressure, now almost unbearable, be reduced also to a landless proletariat without full rights.

Finally, by an irony of history, the descendants of Dr Philip's bitterest opponents are coming by their advocacy of ' segregation ' to be the champions, when it is almost too late, of the policy for which Dr Philip spent his life contending. His great struggle was to defer the inevitable contact between the two races, making it more gradual by safeguarding the separate existence of the Natives on lands of their own. Even yet the Native with a safe root in the soil has an economic base from which he can go out to work and to earn, to the mutual benefit of both White and Black. Without it, and to-day this is the lot of nearly half the Natives of the Union, he is in danger of serfdom, and on such a basis the future and the well being of South Africa cannot be secure. The old and much wronged missionary, John Philip, was profoundly right in his contention that the fundamental interests of White and Black are one. I trust that the modern missionary movement may be all the stronger for the knowledge that it has no reason to be ashamed of its pioneers.

ADMINISTRATION IN THE TRANSKEI

Speech by W. T. Welsh

THE Transkei is a district with an area of 16,000 square miles, with one million Native people, lying between Kei and Natal, and administered, unlike Basutoland and Bechuanaland, by the Union Government. Though the Union Acts in general apply to the Transkei, all local affairs are regulated by proclamation under the hand of the Governor General. This enables the Government to legislate for the special needs of a comparatively primitive people, whose evolution has been accelerated through contact with a higher civilization and whose special and changing conditions require closer attention than can be given by a legislature whose time is taken up mainly with European affairs.

Administrative and judicial Native laws and customs are recognized and applied where there are no objectionable practices. In this way the social fabric has survived and made it possible to favour the continuity of the tribes and clans with their many excellent characteristics, leaving the future to grow out of the past and present in the ordinary process of evolution that contact with a higher civilization has brought. In the law courts the magistrates frequently consult Native assessors. An appeal lies from their decision to the Native Appeal Court where Native assessors assist.

General and District Councils

THE most interesting feature is the system known as the General Council, associated for ever with the name of Cecil Rhodes who secured the passing of the Glen Grey Act. The first four district councils were created in 1895. There are now eighteen of these district councils united in the Transkeian Territory General Council and three others united in the Western Pondoland General Council. The general policy of the Government has not been to force the system upon the people at large, in advance of their fitness or their desire to have it, but to await a time of ripeness in each district considered separately, and then to call upon the people to express their wishes in the matter.

A District Council consists of the resident magistrate and six Native members. It is constituted in the following manner. At the formation, and thereafter triennially, nominations for membership are called for. Two of these are made by the Governor, four by the local representatives of the ratepayers. In districts where survey and Native individual tenure have been introduced, the local nominations are made by a body of title holders formed for this purpose. In other districts the nominations are

made by the head men. There is no restriction of race, sex or occupation in the qualification for a Governor's nominee. Until recently, a woman, the regent of the Xesibe tribe, was a member of the Mount Ayliff Council.

Each District Council meets quarterly, or oftener if called by the resident magistrate, and at each November meeting nominates two of its number as members of the General Council during the following year. The Governor nominates another member, and these members from the various districts, and the magistracy, form the Transkeian District General Council. This consists at present of the chief magistrate of the Transkeian Territories as presiding officer, nineteen resident magistrates and fifty-seven Native members. The annual session usually lasts a fortnight.

These Councils, District and General, are constituted as advisories to the administration, associating the people with the control of local funds, giving them a voice in the disposal of affairs intimately affecting their own interests, training them to constitutional methods of expressing their wishes in regard to general and local policy, and also keeping government and local officers in touch with Native feeling. Debates cover a wide range of subjects, including revision of laws particularly affecting the Native population (such as Native marriage and inheritance), education, diseases among stock, control of commonages, forests, etc. Questions come before the General Council directly by motions introduced by magistrates or members and also on submission from District Councils and references from Government. Procedure in the General Council is more or less parliamentary in form and frequent use is made of the committee system. The resolutions of the Councils, District or General, having been taken on the subjects placed before them, the responsibility for action thereon rests on magistrate, chief magistrate, minister or governor according to the importance of the matters involved.

In local administration the various District Councils stand to the General Council in the relation of individual parts to a single body. They are the executive organs of the General Council which distributes amongst them such duties as road maintenance, management of agricultural institutions, and supervision of forests and commonages, but remains financially responsible for their actions. Strictly speaking, they have no separate income or expenditure, but there is one common treasury to which all revenues flow and to which is chargeable the cost of the different services authorized. This arrangement, while sufficiently fluid to allow play to the individuality of the various members and to keep their interests active, gives a financial stability to the organization as a whole which it would otherwise lack, promotes economy and ensures the necessary financial control over administrative action. By the amalgamation of resources it enables the undertaking of projects which would be beyond the means of any single district or organization.

In general the District Councils and their local committees are re-

sponsible for the initiation of expenditure proposals, which are collated and laid before the General Council in the form of annual estimates of expenditure. After revision, the votes of the Council are taken thereon and they are then submitted for the approval of the Governor.

Results of the System

THERE is no colour bar in the council service. Natives are appointed to any position to which they are qualified. The system has given general satisfaction to the people, and the members take pride in maintaining a high standard of debate and demeanour.

In addition to the material benefits, the value of the constant consultation with the people concerning their own affairs, the training of their own local government which the system affords, the call which it makes for intellectual effort, and the value of the members' interest in the proceedings need to be seen to be appreciated.

The Council has given an enormous impetus to agricultural developments. It conducts annual shows and maintains two schools for agriculture in all its phases for Native students only. The best students are selected to go out and teach the people in their own fields what can be done by hard work and new methods. The development of agriculture has caught the minds of the people and they are showing great interest in new methods. Agricultural societies are springing up all over the country, and on all hands the indications are most encouraging. I trust that in the course of a very few years it will be possible for the whole of the Transkei to maintain its population out of the soil, and so avoid the present necessity of having to send a large proportion to labour centres.

The several spheres and activities of the Council to which I have referred are under the guidance and direction of the magistrates for the twenty-seven districts into which the Transkeian Territory is divided. They are not only judicial officers and tax collectors—their duties by no means end there, they are freely consulted by their people in matters great and small. Some which to us may appear trivial and of no importance are of great moment to those concerned. When riding about their districts, as all officers are expected to do, they are frequently stopped and asked for advice which is willingly given.

The stress of modern officialdom keeps officers more and more tied to their desks. This is to be regretted, for it means that they and the people lose thereby. In the government of primitive people personal elements and personal contacts count for much. This, I believe, has also been the experience of our missionaries in that territory. I would like to pay my tribute to the magnificent work of the missionaries and say how great and abiding a debt of gratitude the officials owe them for services to the Native people which have been of inestimable help to the administration.

CO-OPERATION WITH MISSIONARIES AND AFRICANS

I. Statement by the Portuguese Minister in Belgium

THE Conference listened with great pleasure to the following declaration made by His Excellency Senhor d'Oliviera, the Portuguese Minister in Belgium, who was an invited guest of the Conference.

My country is an old missionary nation, and, before anybody else, carried the teaching of Christ and the light of civilization to all parts of a world till that time half unknown. The great problem of the relation between races Portugal worked out many centuries ago, and tried to solve in accordance with the teachings of Christianity. It has solved the problem in Brazil, that great nation of Portuguese speech, occupying a territory as extensive as Europe, where a population of 30 million inhabitants, produced by the friendly mingling of three races, is living in peace and Christian progress.

Portugal is viewing the racial problem in Africa in the same spirit, and everybody will recognize it when Angola and Mozambique, having passed the difficult period of growth, develop into new Brazils.

My Government will always welcome the collaboration offered by the Christian missions represented here in its efforts on behalf of the progress of the Dark Continent. This collaboration must be based on mutual confidence, if it is to be productive of good. To that end it is indispensable that the missionary societies should establish direct and close relationship with the colonial authorities in Portuguese territories ; that their experience and ours should go hand in hand ; that they may help us to remove from the administration any defects from which our legislative practices, however well conceived in the spirit of liberty, humanity and progress, may among so many difficulties suffer for some time to come. We have learned a great deal through centuries, therefore we know that we have still, and always shall have, much to learn.

II. Statement by an Ex-Governor of the Belgian Congo

THE ex-Governor of the Belgian Congo, General De Meulemeester, spoke as follows in his address at Le Zoute.

On the question of co-operation between the races I want to say a word. I wish to declare that in the Belgian Congo there is no distinction

of races. Our ideal is to develop the country with the collaboration of the Native population. That policy is applied first to the Natives living under their own chiefs, where we are trying to raise their material, intellectual and moral standing while respecting their original racial characteristics. I have always had the greatest confidence in the development of the black people if you do not attempt to make out of black men bad imitations of white men. We are glad to see in the Christian Churches the increase of Native clergy, priests and pastors. During the sad years we have just passed through, the black men, by their splendid devotion and their spirit of sacrifice, have won a title to our gratitude, and they must not have cause to doubt our affection.

THE RELATION OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE NEW FORCES THAT ARE RESHAPING AFRICAN LIFE

Speech by J. H. Oldham

I

THE thought that is doubtless in our minds as we have followed what has been unfolded in these days of meeting, is that nothing is adequate to the situation which the Christian Church has to face in Africa except a new birth. There must be an outburst of new forces comparable to the breaking forth of fresh life in the Church more than a century ago, which led to the birth of the missionary societies which we represent.

In saying that what we need is something entirely new, it is necessary, of course, to bear in mind that we do not mean something utterly different from the past. Much that the new future will hold already has its beginnings and sproutings in the past. Much that is true and valuable in the past must be carried forward into the new future. It is necessary to remember also that if we are led into a new era, the meaning and significance of its characteristic features will only gradually become apparent. It may be only after some years that we shall wake up to discover to our surprise how much fresh ground has been won.

Yet these necessary qualifications must not be allowed to obscure the fact that, if present conditions in Africa are to be successfully met, our need is of something radically new. To reach forward to new things will demand an effort. Entrance into new life may involve the pains of birth. The putting off the old man and putting on the new ought to be for the Christian a continuous process. But to put off the old man is never easy ; we have known him and been intimate with him for too long. If we are really desirous to become new men, it will mean that we shall see things differently, and think about them differently, from what we see and think at present. And this change is something that most of us do not like. Our present views are, after all, our own ideas ; because they are our own ideas we are fond of them ; to give them up and think differently is irksome and unpleasant. Yet such changes in our thinking and outlook must take place if something new is to happen in Africa.

II

IT is possible already, perhaps, to see to some extent the direction in which the new call will lead us. The present Conference has in measure helped to make the path clearer. The new call is to a fresh

advance, a further step forward, an enlargement of our conception of the mission of the Christian Church. It is not a substitute for the call sounded by the pioneers of the missionary movement a century ago; still less is it something that contradicts that call, or makes it less imperative and urgent than before. Rather it is a call to go further, to break fresh ground, to expand our ideas of what the missionary obligation involves.

The difference may perhaps be expressed in this way. The missionary call to the Church a century ago was to go forth into Africa, into Asia, into the other unevangelized fields; to spread out as widely as possible through these lands in order that as many people as possible might be brought within the reach of the Gospel. The thought of geographical extension was predominant, and the idea of expansion still dominates and determines to a large extent missionary thinking and policy. The need for expansion still exists, though in some fields, as a result of the success of a century of missionary effort and of the growth of indigenous Churches, the foreign missionary has ceased, or is ceasing, to be the main factor in evangelization. The old call to spread abroad, to bring the Gospel within the reach of all the dwellers on the earth, has lost none of its urgency. But what we are now beginning to see is that the task of evangelization demands not only this but also something more. The horizon recedes. New lands come into view. The world is seen to be larger than we thought.

It is not enough for the fulfilment of the missionary task that the missionary representatives of the Church should be *in* Africa; scattered throughout the continent. It is possible to be in Africa in the physical sense, to stand on African soil, and yet to be outside the real life of the continent. Our attention has been directed in this Conference to the powerful new forces that are reshaping the life of African peoples. We are not discharging our missionary obligation if, while present physically in Africa, we ignore these new forces and remain apart from them. They are a vital part of the world in which our Christian witness has to be borne. To be truly missionary we must be in among them, in living relation with them, bringing to bear on them the leavening influence of the Christian revelation. Not to rest content with being in Africa and preaching on African soil, but to get as near as we can to the throbbing heart and centre of the movement of African life is the further call that comes to us, as our understanding of the missionary task expands and deepens.

III

SINCE the new call comes to us through the conditions we have to meet in the pursuance of our missionary calling, it may help us to understand its significance if we fix our mind on three recent develop-

ments, which will serve as illustrations of the changing conditions in Africa.

1. The Advisory Committee on Native Education in Africa. First, there is the appointment in London three years ago of the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Africa by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The immense significance of this step lies in the fact that it represents an attempt on the part of those responsible for the government of African peoples consciously and deliberately to control and direct the forces which are shaping their lives. Recognizing how great the responsibility is, the government have wisely called into counsel to help them in discharging it experienced educators, the missionary societies and other unofficial advisors, and in the colonies in Africa representatives of the Native peoples themselves. The Memorandum on Educational Policy in the British Colonies in Africa, which is one of the first results of the appointment of the Committee, is an encouraging assurance that the responsibility will be exercised in a way that will further the best interests of the Native peoples. But it behoves us to realize what an immense power for good or evil is this new conscious deliberate control of the influences which will help to mould the ideas and character and to determine the outlook of the peoples of Africa.

The process is still only in its early beginnings, but every year it is gaining fresh momentum. The British Government is not alone in laying down a carefully thought-out educational policy. The Belgian Government has recently made public a considered policy for the Belgian Congo.[1]

These policies are not merely ideal programmes existing only on paper. They are rapidly being translated into practical activities. The Gold Coast a few years ago was spending less than £40,000 a year on education, chiefly in grants to missions. Its annual educational budget is now over £100,000, and is expected within the next ten years to rise to £350,000. The Uganda Government, which a short time ago was doing nothing directly for missions, and contributing only £2000 a year in grants to missions, has, within the last three years, set up a department of education, and started a large and vigorous institution for higher education at Makerere. Its expenditure on education in 1925 exceeded £30,000, and is expected before long to reach £100,000 a year. In Tanganyika Territory the expenditure on education rose from £3000 in 1920–21 to £32,000 in 1925–26, and in the present year to £68,000, apart from grants to missions. There are some parts of tropical Africa which, because they are economically less developed, are as yet scarcely touched by these new forces. But the general trend is unmistakable. Sooner or later the more backward areas will follow the example of the more progressive.

More and more it is being borne in upon Governments that the problem of Africa is fundamentally a human problem. The opening up of the vast

[1] *Projet d'organisation de l'Enseignement libre au Congo Belge.*

interior of the continent is an event which has occurred within the memory of living men. In the early stages the thought and energies of the administration were inevitably absorbed with the preliminary tasks of developing communications and setting up a framework of government to maintain law and order. It is now realized that the productiveness and prosperity of these territories are dependent on the welfare of the human beings that inhabit them. It is recognized that, as the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Great Britain said recently, 'The people of Africa at present are neither in numbers, physique nor intelligence capable of coping with the great task before Africa, and the duties of statesmen lie in the physical, moral and intellectual development of the Africans.' The significant word in this quotation is 'statesmen.' He does not say 'the duties of missionaries,' or 'the duties of educators,' but 'the duties of statesmen.' Those responsible for the administration of Africa are alive to the fact that, if the human factor is ignored, the task which Europe has undertaken in that continent must fail. They are therefore setting themselves with conscious, deliberate purpose to guide and influence the mental and moral, as well as the physical, development of the peoples of Africa. A tremendous new force has come into existence, silent in its workings and often scarcely perceptible like the tides of the sea, but of incalculable power to shape for good or for evil the destinies of the African race.

What, then, should be our attitude towards these new educational influences? We can, if we wish, stand aside from them. We can say, 'This is an affair of Governments; we will let them do it and go on with our proper work of preaching and evangelization.' We can say, 'The burden is far beyond our strength; there is no use our attempting to carry it; the task is for others.' But if we say these things, we shall allow ourselves to drift into a quiet and peaceful backwater while the powerful main stream of African life and development flows on in other channels beyond our reach. We may remain in Africa, preaching the Gospel on African soil, but we shall not be at the heart of Africa's life. The forces which will mould the life and thought and character of its peoples will not include in any large degree the influence of the Christian Church. The opportunities of the school, immeasurably wider and more far-reaching in this formative period in African life than in countries where an established tradition stamps its impress on the rising generation as much through the home and other social institutions as through the more deliberate education of the school, will be largely lost to us. The most potent means of implanting ideals, of awakening loyalties, of forming habits, of influencing conduct, will have slipped from our grasp. To surrender all this is surely to come short disastrously in our missionary task, which impels us to be in the very centre of the forces that are reshaping the lives of the people of Africa.

The call that comes to us, then, is that we should not shrink from these

new responsibilities because they are beyond our strength, as they indeed are, but that we should cheerfully accept them, relying on God's strength. That involves, of course, a new act of faith and new effort springing out of that faith. And we must see clearly the kind of works in which our faith must express itself. We must be prepared for the cost.

We can enter these fields of opportunity only if, as missionary societies, we are prepared to send out for educational service people who are fully qualified for that service. We must face the necessity of ensuring that missionaries who will be engaged in educational work—and few missionaries in Africa are without some responsibility in connexion with education—have a proper educational training.

It ought to be our aim also to have in each of our larger missions at least one man and one woman of outstanding gifts and exceptional training as an educator, who will in capacity and experience be the equal of the able educators whom Governments are seeking to enlist in their educational service. A man of this kind, possessing in consequence of his proved capacity the full confidence of the government educational authorities, will be the best guarantee that mission schools will have freedom to make their distinctive Christian contribution to education, and that happy and harmonious relations will subsist between the Government and the mission schools. If such men are needed, as they are, they will be found by prayer and searching, and it is for the home boards to see to it that by study and travel they acquire the experience needed for the largest forms of service.

If the missionary societies are prepared to meet these demands, which are not different from those which missions at their best have responded to in the past in Africa and other fields, there is no reason why Christian education should not be in the years to come the most potent of all forces in the reshaping, redemption and regeneration of the life of African peoples.

2. The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. A second illustration of the new developments that are taking place is found in the new International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. That, like the Advisory Committee at the Colonial Office in London, is the outcome of missionary initiative. But as the plans have taken shape there has been a certain quite natural and intelligible hesitation on the part of some boards in regard to their relation to the undertaking. There has been a fear that if so many learned societies and scientific bodies are to co-operate in the enterprise, the part played by missions may be a subordinate and relatively unimportant one. The question has been asked whether the object is one to which missionary funds ought to contribute and is not rather something which the missionary societies can safely leave to others to carry out.

It has seemed to me from the beginning to be somewhat of a test case as to how far the missionary societies are ready to move forward and lay hold of the opportunities of the new time. For what is the purpose of

the proposed Institute? It is, in a sentence, to learn to *understand* the African. But who has greater need of understanding the African peoples than the missionary? Knowledge, as the achievements of natural science have taught us, is power. It is characteristic of our age that the same methods of patient observation and of piecing together the results of many observations that have given to man such astonishing control over the forces of nature are now being applied to the study of man himself. Here, too, knowledge will prove to be power. It is a power which can be used for good or for evil ends. It may be employed by some to exploit to their own advantage the weaknesses and foibles of their fellow-men. It may be used, on the other hand, by the friends and servants and teachers of mankind to prevent the human tragedies which are often the result of our blundering ignorance and to help men to rise to a healthier, nobler and more satisfying existence. But, whether it is made the instrument of exploitation or of service and helpfulness, knowledge will be power. It is certain that those who understand the African will be those who will most influence him.

If, then, a new concerted international endeavour is being made by those who are interested in Africa to understand its people, their languages and their ways, missionaries must be in the thick of it. If to be truly missionary we need to be in Africa not merely physically but intellectually and spiritually, not only with our bodies but also with our minds and our souls, then missions must identify themselves whole-heartedly with such a movement of understanding and interpretation, contributing to it out of their experience and enlarging in turn through participation their own experience and knowledge. In doing this they will be in direct line with the best missionary tradition. Among the missionary pioneers there were giants in these fields.

Happily there is in this Conference no dubiety about the course to be followed. The sectional conference on language and literature is unanimous in urging the Conference to welcome the establishment of the Institute and in recommending the boards and missions to co-operate with it and utilize it to the full.

3. **Racial Contacts.** A third illustration of the new problems for which the Christian Church is called upon to help in seeking a solution is found in the contact of races. The contact of the white and black races in the continent of Africa is without any real precedent and parallel in history. It is a problem that is at the same time economic, political, cultural and racial. That it should not get entirely out of hand and become utterly insoluble is a missionary interest of the first importance. If the relations between the races were to become hopelessly embittered, and they were to be thrown into irreconcilable antagonism, the minds of the black race would be little open to the white man's Gospel. In order that the door may remain open for the preaching of the Gospel as well as

because of the light on human relations which they have seen in Christ, missionaries cannot be indifferent to the racial problem.

There is general agreement that the solution of this, as of other problems in human relations, must be sought in the principles, teaching and spirit of Jesus Christ. But we must at the same time recognize that to say this does not seem somehow to carry us very far. The mere assertion of the obligations of brotherhood in these complex situations seems to bring little help. And the reason is not far to seek.

Let us take a simple illustration. A particular business enterprise is in difficulties and scarcely able to pay its way. The only way in which the owners can keep their heads above water is by paying their workpeople the smallest wages they can be induced to accept. The relations between employers and employed become more and more strained and bitter. The Church, let us suppose, in such a situation approaches the parties and urges them to remember that they are brothers and to behave as such. What is likely to be the result? The employer will probably turn round and say angrily, 'Confound your talk of brotherhood; do you want me to see myself ruined and my children in the gutter?' And the workpeople will respond with equal indignation, 'Confound your talk of brotherhood; do you mean that we are to submit quietly to conditions of life unworthy of a human being made in the image of God?' And then, it may be, in place of mere talk and exhortation, there appears on the scene a man. Some one comes into the business endowed with more than ordinary organizing ability, with exceptional insight and ingenuity, with unusual gifts of inspiring confidence and getting people to work together. Gradually things begin to change. The business begins to prosper. Higher wages become possible. The employers and workpeople share in the new prosperity. The strain is relaxed. Relations begin to improve. A new spirit manifests itself. And all these things are the fruit of the skill and patience, the qualities of head and heart, of the man who has proved to be the saviour of the enterprise. The ancient prophecy has once again found fulfilment that 'a *man* shall be as an hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.'

The case is not dissimilar in regard to the racial problem in Africa, though the problem is on a vastly larger scale. The Church will achieve little by merely preaching brotherliness. Preaching is easy. It is not enough to enunciate and reiterate the principles of Jesus if conditions exist which make it practically impossible for men to live as brothers. The thing to be done in that case by those who believe in the principles of Jesus is to set to work to alter the conditions and to lift men to the plane on which brotherly relations become a possibility.

A fundamental cause of racial difficulties in the relations between white and black is the complexity of the situation. White and black

alike are being driven blindly by forces which they do not sufficiently understand, and are unable therefore intelligently to control. Improvement can come about only through increasing mastery of these forces. The attempt to master them will need to be made on a grand scale. We have to do with a continent. We are dealing with a world problem of the first magnitude. The task will demand the labour of thousands of patient workers. The essential thing is to make a start. This does not mean that much valuable investigation is not already in progress. What is needed is a clearer consciousness of our aim and a great fixity of purpose in the pursuit of it. It is encouraging that, as recently announced, the Governor of Kenya has put forward proposals for a scheme for organized and independent research into a wide range of East African problems connected with Native welfare.

It is plain that the only basis of harmony between the races lies in acceptance of Christian ideals of service and mutual helpfulness. But what Christians have failed thus far to recognize adequately is that the application of Christian ideals to the complex conditions of modern society requires not only loyalty to those ideals but also an immense amount of skilled and patient labour. If we will the end we must be prepared also to will the means and to meet the cost.

This does not mean that it is the function of Christian missions to be responsible for the investigation and research that are needed. Manifestly these matters are beyond their resources and lie outside their special province. But the Christian Church can contribute to the creation of a public opinion which will demand that these things be done ; and as they are undertaken, there will be many points at which missions can lend their assistance. It would make an enormous difference if Christian opinion were fully awake to what is involved in the application of the Christian view of life to the problems of race. To such a new awakening of the Christian mind we are called by the conditions which meet us in Africa.

IV

THIS Conference, then, and the issues we have been considering here, call us to new adventures. Nothing that I have said is meant to suggest that the Church or the missionary societies should turn aside from their proper and distinctive function to other and less central things. The unchanging function of the Church is to bear witness to the grace and truth revealed in Jesus Christ. In Him was life, and that life is the light of men. All that is meant is that the witness of the Church to the grace and truth of Christ must be borne in ever widening circles and express itself in ever richer forms. Perhaps the most fundamental difficulty in the minds of men to-day in regard to Christianity is that its practical expression is so little related to the tremendous affirmations of our faith.

Let us face once again the fact that in ourselves we are not equal to this new adventure. It has to be an adventure of faith. If we are called to lengthen our cords we must at the same time strengthen our stakes. If we are to reach higher we must strike our roots deeper into the unseen world. If the adventure is to achieve anything it will mean for us a deeper life of prayer. It is here that the call comes to us as a personal challenge. Are we ready to respond to it? If there is to be a rebirth of the missionary movement, it will mean a rebirth of the life of prayer. It was the recognition of this truth that led the Committee of the International Missionary Council at its meeting in Sweden last July to 'resolve to enter afresh into an experience of sustaining and victorious prayer, to dedicate themselves anew to a life of which communion with God is the inspiring principle and to co-operate in every way possible in extending the fellowship of prayer.'[1]

What is to be the practical expression of the new adventure? The question is one to which it is difficult to give an explicit answer. I am reminded of the perplexity which existed to some extent in missionary circles a year or two ago when Dr Jesse Jones came back from Africa and expounded his programme of education. 'What precisely do you want us to do?' people kept asking him. If he had been ready to supply a cut-and-dry curriculum, if he had insisted that this or that subject should be cut out or this or that activity introduced, what he was saying would have seemed so much simpler. But he consistently refused to do this. 'I do not want you to do anything in particular,' he kept saying. 'I want you to do from a new point of view what you are doing at present. If you get the new point of view the necessary changes will follow of themselves.' So it would seem to be in regard to the new adventure we are speaking of. The essential thing is that our minds should be open in a new way to learn the full range of God's purpose. That means capacity to grow.

The really vital thing at this Conference, which alone can give it an historic significance, is that we should by a definite act of self-committal put ourselves in God's hands, to learn, to grow, to apprehend in all its fullness that for which we have been apprehended by Christ Jesus. That is everything. God will see to the rest. God cannot deny Himself. And having made the committal we can go back to our work with a quiet confidence and secret joy, waiting for His purpose to unfold itself.

Africa is in the hand of God. We, and the missionary societies we represent, are in the hand of God. Better things are in store for Africa. The banners of our King are moving forward. With Him we may go from strength to strength.

[1] See the leaflet, *Prayer for Spiritual Revival*, obtainable from the offices of the International Missionary Council, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1, or 25 Madison Avenue, New York City. 9d. or 20 cents per dozen; 5s. or $1.25 per hundred, post free.

TWO DEVOTIONAL ADDRESSES

I. CONDITIONS OF TRUE CO-OPERATION

By Daniel Couve

WE have talked in this Conference about co-operation of races, black and white; co-operation of nations, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, German, French; co-operation of Churches—there are, alas, too many to be named here; co-operation of missions and Governments and so on. But our talk is only as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal if we do not seek the power that is indispensable in order to transform into reality our ideal of co-operation. I believe there are four chief conditions of true co-operation.

(1) The first is a clearer consciousness of our Unity. We are all the children of the one Father, who sent His Son to seek us when we were lost. When we missionaries and pastors preach on the great missionary text 'Other sheep I have; them also I must bring,' we are tempted to emphasize the word 'other'; those who are different from ourselves, who do not know what we know; the poor black men who are far away, lost in the night, and the poor Natives whom we think less gifted than our own beloved nation; the Churches who have not kept the ideal of the early Christian community as pure as our own Church; the poor colonial people, the merchants, the officials and administrators and even the governors, who have not the honour of being as we are, missionaries of the Lord. Let us learn to leave aside the word 'other' and our pity for others, and concentrate our thought on the word 'sheep.' Whatever may be our differences, of races, nations, Churches or functions, we are all the sheep of the one Shepherd who laid down His life for us all: that is our unity.

(2) The second condition of true co-operation is Humility. The deeper consciousness we have of our privileges, the greater is our need of real humility. Some of us may have many privileges that others have not, but each privilege is simply a gift, and a gift gives us no right to be proud. Jesus says, 'You have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you.' St Paul says, 'It is not of yourselves, it is the gift of God. Not of works, lest any man should boast.' Let us pray that we may be protected against any sort of pride in order that the real spirit of co-operation may be ours.

(3) The third condition of true co-operation is Comprehension—the understanding of others' point of view, each trying to put ourselves in the place of others. It is difficult for the missionary to put himself in the place of the African, or to realize all the complexity of the administrator's

position. It is difficult for a Presbyterian, such as I am, to understand the religious conception of some other bodies, but if I wish to co-operate with all my brother-sheep, I must, by an effort of my mind, my heart and my will, put myself in their place and try to understand their position. Real co-operation is based not on pity for others' prejudices and narrowness, but on respect—yes, respect—even when I fail to understand.

Let us pray that we may discover in others, not only what we have got in common with them, but also the things which they have got and which we lack, those notes which are as necessary as our own note to the purity of the beautiful concert which Christian co-operation should be.

(4) Above all, the supreme condition of true co-operation is a greater Faith in the Living Presence of Him for whose triumph in Africa we say we are anxious to live, and, if necessary, to die. Cardinal Lavigerie, the founder of the Order of the White Fathers, the pioneer of modern Roman Catholic missions in North Africa, used to say, 'How should I be afraid? I am the servant of a martyr whom they never succeeded in keeping as a prisoner in the grave.' Let us never doubt the glorious resurrection and living presence of Jesus Christ among us; He being alive and present, co-operation for His sake shall be made possible.

II. THE HEART OF A HOST

'I have nothing to set before him.'—St Luke xi. 6.

By Father Callaway

THE little parable which St Luke places directly after the Lord's Prayer seems to carry us back to Africa, to primitive surroundings, to simple ways, to a people who do not make much provision for to-morrow. It would not be easy to set the parable here at Le Zoute, where we see many hotels and shops, with plenty of provision for unexpected needs. All of us who have lived amongst the Natives in Africa have seen the parable in action. The friend arrives at nightfall, unexpectedly. Of course he receives a ready welcome. The Native is always at his best as a host. Immediately the owner of the kraal prepares to provide for the needs of his guest. To his dismay he finds that there is no food in the house. In vain he searches: he finds nothing. If it were a question of providing for his own needs he would accept discomfort and would wait for the morrow. But just because he has the heart of a host he cannot do this. Although it is now night he must make an effort to find food to set before his guest. With a hasty apology he beats upon the door of a neighbour's house. He beats with importunity. He is almost shameless because he is asking for his guest. His persistence is rewarded.

Who is this host? Is it not our Lord Himself? In the days of His

earthly ministry we see Him as Host. We watch Him as He is moved with compassion towards the hungry crowd, and as He takes the loaves, and blesses, and breaks, and gives them to His disciples to set before His guests. We see Him again in the Upper Chamber with His disciples gathered round Him. He is the Host. He takes the bread and breaks it and says, 'This is My Body.'

But do we see Him ever in the dilemma of the host of the parable? Can there be an occasion when He finds Himself unable to provide for the needs of a guest?

At least we are allowed to see in His life on earth something very similar to the picture given to us in the parable. We see crises in His life and ministry. We see urgent demands which drive Him to the mountain top to beat there, with night-long prayer, upon the door of the Heavenly Sanctuary. Is He not the Host who is pleading for provision wherewith to supply His guest?

And always He is the Host. He seeks to exercise His hospitality through His disciples. I do not now speak of an ordained ministry, of a regular provision through sacraments. I follow the parable. I think of a crisis—of an urgent and unexpected demand. I think of all those who are called by His Name. Through all He seeks to exercise His hospitality. To them a guest comes and knocks.

Have we not heard the knock? We who have been working in Africa ten years, twenty years, forty years? Have we not heard Africa knocking on the door of our hearts? Is not that the meaning of the missionary call, of the world call, of the call from Africa? Here at Le Zoute during these days of conference is not that what we have been most conscious of? As we have listened to the problems, the difficult questions, the gigantic needs of Africa—have we not heard the knocking at the door of our hearts?

But the parable does not end there. Have we not found also our inability, our poverty, our impotence? 'I have nothing to set before him.' Yes, we thank God for great leaders who have given their lives for Africa, great saints who have followed their Master, great and noble ventures, but to-day, as the great need of a great country is spread out before us, we are most conscious of our limitations, of our inability.

And what does this mean? It means a great deal, if we have the heart of a host, if we share at all *the Heart of the Host.* It means that we cannot rest satisfied. It means that we shall make a great effort, not just in the direction of some increase in the output of missionary activity, but in the direction of a new and intensified effort of prayer. We shall go, with renewed penitence, with renewed desire, with renewed importunity, to plead for our guest—for Africa. 'A friend is come to me, and I have nothing to set before him.' And then it is we shall make new discoveries. We shall find that even the gigantic needs of Africa can be met. 'He will rise and give him as many as he needeth.'

MINUTES OF THE CONFERENCE

First Session, Tuesday, September 14th, 8.30 p.m.

1. Messages of Welcome.—The Rev. Z. R. Mahabane opened the Conference with prayer, the Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D., being in the Chair.

The Rev. Henri Anet, Ph.D., gave a message of welcome to the Conference. M. Anet reported the regrets for absence, and the good wishes, of the following Government Officers: M. M. Lippens, formerly Governor-General of the Congo; M. Arnold, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies; M. A. Gohr, General Secretary of the Colonial Office; and also of Sr. Freire d'Andrade, member of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. He then read a message to the Conference from the Crown Prince Leopold of Belgium, the members standing. His Royal Highness conveyed to the Conference his sincere wishes for its success and his special thanks to the Congo missionaries for their cordial reception during his recent journey in the Congo.

The Business Committee was instructed to send a telegram to the Crown Prince expressing appreciation of his message and the recognition by the Conference of the sympathetic interest of His Royal Highness in all problems of the education of the black race.

The Business Committee was further instructed to send to His Majesty King Albert a loyal assurance from the Conference of profound and sincere respect and an expression of the readiness of the Conference to co-operate in the development of the population of the Congo in full harmony with the Belgian Government, and imploring the Divine Blessing on their Royal Majesties, the King and Queen of Belgium.

Dr Fraser expressed to M. Anet on behalf of the Conference its gratitude to him personally for his assistance to missionary work and in preparation for this Conference. He also announced the receipt of a cablegram of greetings from the Umtata Missionary Conference.

2. Committee of Arrangements. Mr Oldham presented the report as follows:

> *Membership of the Conference.*—That those whose names are printed in the list of members of the Conference, including the consultative members, subject to such amendments as may be approved by the Business Committee of the Conference, constitute the Membership of the Conference.
>
> *Chairman.*—That the Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D., be appointed Chairman of the Conference.
>
> *Secretaries.*—That Dr A. L. Warnshuis and Miss M. M. Underhill be appointed Secretaries of the Conference.

Minute Secretaries.—That Mr Leslie B. Moss and Rev. J. W. L. Hofmeyr be appointed Minute Secretaries.

Business Committee.—That a Business Committee be appointed to dea with matters relating to the programme of the Conference and with such other questions as the Conference may refer to it : and that the Committee already nominated to make the preliminary arrangements be confirmed as the Business Committee of the Conference, namely :

Mr J. H. Oldham (Chairman)	Rev. J. E. Lundahl
Mr F. H. Hawkins	Rev. H. D. Hooper
Rev. T. S. Donohugh	Rev. Z. R. Mahabane
Dr Thomas Jesse Jones	Dr Catherine Mabie
M. Daniel Couve	Rev. J. T. Tucker, D.D.
Dr Martin Schlunk	Rev. A. W. Wilkie

together with the Chairman and Secretaries of the Conference, and the Minute Secretaries.

Rules of Procedure.—(*a*) Speakers shall be permitted to use the language of their choice, but speeches in any language other than English shall be translated, preferably by a summary at the close of each speech, but sentence by sentence if the speaker so desires.

(*b*) In all discussion all speeches shall be limited not to exceed seven minutes, excepting as otherwise arranged by the Business Committee.

Programme.—That the programme and hours of meeting as printed be generally approved.

Resolutions.—That any resolutions which it may be desired to submit to the Conference shall first be considered and approved by the Business Committee.

Ruling of Chairman.—That in all questions relating to order and procedure the ruling of the Chairman shall be final.

Devotional Periods.—That the Conference make the following requests to its members :

It is most earnestly requested that during the time which is set apart each forenoon for united intercession, no one shall enter or leave the hall. This act of united prayer is the most important part of each day's proceedings, and on it more than all else depends the realization of the blessing possible in this Conference.

It is also requested that all members should endeavour to be in their places by 9 a.m. each morning, so that all may take part in the opening act of worship and intercession, and that there may be no disturbance nor distraction from members arriving late.

The recommendations of the Committee were unanimously approved.

3. The Chairman gave an address, ' A Century of Christian Effort in Africa,' and afterwards closed the session with prayer.

Second Session, Wednesday, September 15th, 9 a.m.

The Chairman announced that the Churches of South Africa were observing a week of prayer coincident with the Conference.

The opening devotional period was led by Mr Basil Mathews.

4. The subject, 'The Task of Evangelism,' was introduced by the Rev. W. C. Johnston, D.D., Mrs J. W. L. Hofmeyr and the Rev. E. W. Smith. The general discussion was participated in by Dr Richter, Dr Bronnum, Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, Mrs Bridgman, Bishop Kitching, Rev. H. C. Hobgood, Archdeacon Owen and Canon Rowling.

The period of intercession for the day was conducted by Mr J. H. Oldham.

Following the interval the discussion was continued by the following members: Rev. H. Ross Phillips, Dr Westermann, Dr Cook, Rev. John Dube, Rev. G. H. P. Jacques, Mr N. S. J. Ballanta and Canon Lucas.

5. Mr Oldham presented a recommendation of the Business Committee that a Committee be appointed to consider the possibility of sending American Negroes to Africa as missionaries. It was agreed to appoint the following committee: Dr Phelps Stokes (Chairman), Dr Anet, Dr A. J. Brown, Bishop Campbell, Bishop Cannon, Rev. W. W. Cash, Bishop Clair, Rev. N. T. Clerk, M. Couve, the Hon. E. B. Denham, Dr Dillard, Rev. J. Dube, Dr J. East, Bishop Gregg, Rev. J. W. L. Hofmeyr, Dr J. Hope, Bishop Johnson, Dr Johnston, Dr Jesse Jones, Dr Lerrigo, Dr Loram, Sir Frederick Lugard, Dr McCoy, Mr Maclennan, Rev. J. C. Olden, Dr Richter, Rev. E. W. Riggs, Mr W. T. Welsh, Rev. A. W. Wilkie, Mr Max Yergan, Dr Fraser, Mr Oldham and Dr Warnshuis.

Third Session, Wednesday, September 15th, 4.30 p.m.

6. Dr Zwemer addressed the Conference on the subject, 'Islam in Africa.' Discussion followed, participated in by Dr A. J. Brown, Mr Mathews, Mr Roome, Bishop Melville Jones, Rev. W. W. Cash, Rev. A. D. Helser, Mr J. H. Oldham and Miss Padwick.

Fourth Session, Wednesday, September 15th, 8.15 p.m.

7. The Rev. G. Callaway led the opening prayer. Dr Thomas Jesse Jones addressed the Conference on the subject, 'The New Forces in Africa.'

The Rev. Canon Anson Phelps Stokes addressed the Conference on the subject, 'Co-operation.'

Discussion was participated in by Dr Johanssen and Professor Buell, and Dr Jesse Jones closed the discussion.

Fifth Session, Thursday, September 16th, 9 a.m.

8. Devotions were led by Dr J. H. Dillard.

The session was devoted to the discussion of 'The Education of the African Peoples,' introduced by the Rev. A. W. Wilkie (Gold Coast). The following

members took part: Dr Schlunk, Dr Loram, Rev. J. C. Olden, Rev. D. Theron, Dr Westermann, the Bishop of Lagos, Rev. J. K. MacGregor, Mr J. H. Oldham, Rev. D. Couve, Rev. C. E. Wilson, the Hon. E. B. Denham, Miss Whitelaw, Dr Diffendorfer, Rev. W. Millman, Miss Medd, Rev. A. de Meuron, Rev. Father Callaway, Mr Oyerinde and Dr Jesse Jones.

The period of intercession was led by Dr Schlunk.

9. International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.—Dr Warnshuis gave a brief résumé of the constitution of the Institute recently established in London.

Sixth Session, Thursday, September 16th, 8.15 p.m.

10. The subject of 'American Experiments in Educational and Philanthropic Effort in the Southern States' was spoken on by Dr Sage, Dr Dillard, Mr Jackson Davis and President John Hope.

Seventh Session, Friday, September 17th, 9 a.m.

The Chairman reported the receipt of a cablegram from the Dutch Church of South Africa, as follows:

'Greetings. Prayerful interest. Great expectations.'

M. le Pasteur Couve led the opening devotional period.

11. Professor W. G. Willoughby opened the discussion on the topic, 'The African Church and its Problems.' The following participated in the discussion: Bischof P. O. Hennig, Rev. R. H. Baker, Rev. J. W. L. Hofmeyr, Mr Ballanta, Mr Dawson, Archdeacon Owen, Rev. H. C. Hobgood, Rev. C. Bourquin, Mr Max Yergan, Mr Welsh, Dr Knak, Rev. G. Callaway, Dr A. J. Brown, Rev. John Dube, Bishop Johnson, Mr J. H. Oldham, Dr Julius Richter, Dr Wareham, Rev. H. M. Washburn, Dr Zwemer, Dr Bronnum, Rev. J. K. MacGregor, Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, Superintendent Wedepohl, Rev. N. T. Clerk, Sir Edward C. F. Garraway and Canon F. Rowling.

The Rev. A. B. Parson led the noon devotional period.

Eighth Session, Friday, September 17th, 8.15 p.m.

The opening prayer was offered by the Chairman.

A telegram from His Majesty the King cordially thanking the Conference for its telegram was read—the members standing.

12. Addresses were delivered on the subject, 'The Promotion of Health in Africa,' by the following: M. le Docteur Broden, Dr J. L. Gilks, Dr Louise Pearce, Dr P. H. J. Lerrigo and the Rev. Canon Garfield Williams.

The Chairman closed the session with the Benediction.

Ninth Session, Saturday, September 18th, 9 a.m.

The devotional period was led by Father Callaway.

13. Mr Max Yergan spoke on the subject of 'Co-operation between the Races: its Difficulties and Possibilities.'

Professor Macmillan spoke on the economic aspect of the racial problem in South Africa. The following took part in the discussion: Superintendent Wedepohl, Dr Graham, Rev. F. A. Rogers, Rev. J. C. Olden, Rev. Canon Rowling, Mlle Homburger, Général De Meulemeester, Mr J. H. Oldham, Archdeacon Owen, Professor Braga, Rev. A. Jehle, Dr Zwemer, Dr Loram, Rev. D. Theron, Dr Diffendorfer, Canon Lucas, Dr Jesse Jones, Rev. H. M. Washburn, Rev. J. Clark, Canon Hulme and Dr Dillard.

The devotional period was led by the Rev. John Dube.

Tenth Session, Saturday, September 18th, 8.15 p.m.

14. Addresses on the subject of 'The Contact of Europe and Africa—Past and Future' were given by Sêmpr. M. d'Oliviera, Portuguese Consul in Belgium; the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Lugard, K.C.M.G., a member of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and formerly Governor of Nigeria; and M. Louis Franck, formerly Governor of the Belgian Congo.

Sunday, September 19th, 11 a.m.

15. The Conference sermon was preached by the Rev. Arthur J. Brown, D.D.

Sunday, September 19th, 4.30 p.m.

16. A period of intercession for Africa was conducted by Mr Basil Mathews.

Eleventh Session, Sunday, September 19th, 8.15 p.m.

The Chairman led in opening prayer.

17. Mr W. T. Welsh, Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, addressed the Conference on 'The Administration of the Transkei.'

Mr J. H. Oldham addressed the Conference on 'The Relation of Christian Missions to the New Forces that are Reshaping African Life.'

The Chairman closed the meeting with the Benediction.

Twelfth Session, Monday, September 20th, 9 a.m.

Dr S. M. Zwemer led the opening devotional service.

18. The resolutions of the section on Health and Native Welfare were presented by the Chairman of the section, Dr J. H. Dillard, and after brief discussion were adopted by the Conference.

The resolutions of the section on Language and Literature were presented by the Chairman, Dr D. Westermann, and with minor amendments were agreed to by the Conference.

The resolutions of the Economic section regarding Land and Labour were presented by the Chairman, Mr F. H. Hawkins.

Following the interval Mr Hawkins led the devotional service.

The resolutions of the Economic section were agreed to, but referred back to a committee for inclusion of an additional point on forced labour.

The resolutions of the Committee on the American Negroes in Africa were presented by the Chairman, Canon Anson Phelps Stokes, and were agreed to, as later amended.

A resolution from the Women's section was presented and agreed to.

The Conference agreed to authorize the officers to make such verbal changes in the various resolutions as would improve their literary form without altering the sense of the resolutions.

Miss Whitelaw presented two subjects regarding European women resident in Africa and their co-operation with missionaries, and the making of the Conference findings available to a wider constituency not at present interested in missionary work. These two matters were referred to the Business Committee for consideration and report.

The resolutions of the Education section were presented by the Chairman, Dr Loram.

Thirteenth Session, Monday, September 20th, 2.15 p.m.

The Conference gave consideration to the resolutions on Education, and referred back several sections for change.

The Chairman of the Conference, Dr. Donald Fraser, presented the report of the section on Evangelism, which was referred to a special committee for re-study.

Fourteenth Session, Monday, September 20th, 8.15 p.m.

The Chairman led in opening prayer. He then presented the revised resolution of the section on Evangelism entitled, ' Some Suggestions on Evangelism,' which was agreed to.

The revised report on the Education resolutions was presented and agreed to.

Resolutions relating to Racial Problems in South Africa and to the transmission of the resolutions of the Conference were submitted and approved.

Canon Phelps Stokes presented a series of resolutions of thanks, which were agreed to.

A resolution expressing the sympathy of the Conference with the Christians in South Africa was read and approved.

19. The Closing Address of the Conference was delivered by the Rt. Rev. Ll. H. Gwynne, D.D., Bishop in Egypt and the Sudan, who also dismissed the members with the Benediction.

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INDEX

[*Numerals from* 1–192 *refer to pages in this volume; those from* 323–590, *printed in italic type, refer to relevant articles in the Special Africa Number of "The International Review of Missions," see page* 188.]

ADMINISTRATION—
Gain of ordered government, 14, 103; modern problems, 23, 84–91 *passim*; trusteeship, 129–30, 149–52; new methods of, 151–2; administrators at Le Zoute, 27; in the Transkei, 157–9; in Belgian colonies, 139, 160–1, *584–8*; in French colonies, *327–43*, *533–44 passim*; in Cameroons, 18–9; in South Africa, *344–89* and *passim*.
Advisory Committee on Native [Tropical] Education in Africa, 56, 130, 164.
AFRICA—
Description of, 1–2, 82–3; unity in diversity, 5–7; exploration of, 2–4; colonization, history of, 2, 4, 6–7; Europeans in, 20, 132; material wealth of, 5, 83, 133; races in, 1, 5, 6; new forces in, 23–4, 127–35.
See also Christianity, Communications, Population, Slavery.
AFRICANS—
New sense of their worth, 15–6; illustrated at Le Zoute, 32; make good Christians, 36; good workers, 15–6, 140–1; changes in attitude of, 22–3, 133; article, *390–401*.
See also Negroes (American).
Agriculture, 84, 132, 158.
Allégret, Elie, article by, *327–43*.
Allier, Raoul, quoted, 54.
Anet, Henri, 25; article by, *584–8*.
Anet, Madame, 25.
APPROACH—
'The white man's call,' 39; first-hand study of, 40; fulfilment not destruction, 40; awareness of God, 41–2; other methods of, 43; article on, *438–49*.
See also Evangelism, Heritage.
ATTITUDE, NEW—
Of Governments, 129–31; economic agencies, 131–2; missions, 132–3; Native people, 133; international, 133–4.

Baker, R. H., quoted, 54.
Ballanta, N. S. J., 26, 43.
BIBLE—
References in, to Africa, 1–2; related to African thought, 41; faulty teaching of, 67; translations of, 11, 70; recommendations, 114.
See also Religious Education, Heritage.
BLACK AND WHITE—
A view of relationships, 32–3; clashing of interests, 84–5; questions demanding answer, 85–8; land and labour, 88–91; Mr Yergan on, 99–100; M. Franck on, 138–9; in South Africa, 154–6, *344–89 passim*; in Belgian colonies, 160–1, *584–8*; in French colonies, *327–43*, *533–46 passim*.
Bovet, Pierre, article by, *483–92*.
Bridgman, F. B., article by, *569–83*.
Broden, Dr, 73; quoted, 74–7 *passim*; speech by, 142–6.
Buell, R. L., 27, 148.

Callaway, G., 30; address by, 172–3; article by, *390–401*.
Christian Literature, *see* Literature.
CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA—
Spread of, 8–11; uplifting power, 19; Africans as Christians, 37; type of Christianity needed, 38; presentation of, 38–43; to Muslims, 43–4; and education, 63–4, 109–15; and health, 79–80; Conference ideals of, 102–7.
See also Church, Customs.
CHURCH—
Power of, in Africa, 22, 47; African customs in, 12, 31, 40, 48–52; discipline in, 52–3; divergent views of, 53–5; longing for Universal, 55; recommendations, 108–9; articles on, *450–75*.
See also Christianity, Evangelism, Separatist Church Movement.
CIVILIZATION, WESTERN—
Impact of, 6, 21, 23–4; imitated by Africans, 22; confused with Christianity, 38; diseases spread by, 75; dual mandate of, 84–5; responsible for injustices, 130–1; and economic development, 141; article, *390–401*.
See also Black and White, South Africa.
Clerk, N. T., 26.
COLONIAL POLICY—
New attitudes in, 129–31, 151–2; conscience awakened, 16–7; in British colonies, 23, 88–90; in Belgian colonies, 137–41, *584–8*; in Portuguese colonies, 160–1; in French colonies, *327–43*, *533–46 passim*.
See also South Africa.
Colour Bar, 100, 130–1, 155, 159.
COMMUNICATION, MEANS OF—
Early travel, 13–4; porterage, 13, 84, 87, 153; railways, 4–5; aeroplanes, 137–8.
CONFERENCE ON THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN AFRICA—
Significance of title, 28; inception, 29, *323–6*; personnel, 25–8, 180–8; subject and methods, 28–30; impressions of, 30–3; devotional meetings, 34–5, 171–3; message of, 102–7.
CONGO—
See Administration, Colonial Policy, Education, Health, Population.
Consultative Members, Le Zoute, 187–8.
CO-OPERATION—
Missionary attitude towards, 19–20; at Le Zoute, 26–8, 92; for public health, 80–1, 119–21, 142–7; questions of land

Co-operation—(*continued*)—
and labour, 85–8; M. Couve on, 92–3; with Africans, 93–4, 97, 137–41 *passim*, 160–1; illustrations from America, 94–6; Governments, missions, colonists, 96–7; international, 96, 148–9; in industry, 98, 131–2; share of Africans in government, 98, 130; in production of literature, 118–9; of American Negroes for Africa, 122–4; principles of, 134–5; Canon Phelps Stokes on, 135–6; Sir F. Lugard on, 149–52; in Transkei, 157–9.
See also Education, Training.
Couve, D., 31; quoted, 92; address by, 171–2.
Cripps, A. S., quoted, 41; poem by, *322*.
Culture, African, *see* Heritage.
Customs, *see* Church, Heritage.

Davis, Jackson, *27*, 62, 94.
Delafosse, Maurice, article by, *533–46*.
Delegates, Le Zoute, 180–7.
De Meulemeester, Général, *27*, 139; speech, 160–1.
Denationalization, 17, 41, 48; article, *309–401 passim*.
Denham, E. B., *27*.
Denham, Mrs E. B., quoted, 98.
Devotional meetings at Le Zoute, 34–5; addresses, 171–3.
Dillard, J. H., *27*, 61; quoted, 100.
Discipline, *see* Church.
Disease—
Factors causing increase of, *21*, 74; malnutrition, 77–8; bad housing, 78; ignorance, *75*; ravages of, 73–4; success of new discoveries, 75–6; prevention better than cure, 76–8.
See also Health, Vital Statistics.
Dougall, J. W. C., 66; article by, *493–505*.
Drink traffic, 17–8, *583*.
Dube, J., *26*; quoted, 33–4, 42.

Economic Questions—
Co-operation essential in, 84–5, 97; higher standards, 131–2; poverty of South Africa, 155–6.
See also Food, Housing.
Education—
African forms of, 62–3; what Africans desire, 65; aim of missionary education, 58–9, 103, 106–7; accepted principles of, 150–1; four simples of, 62–3; community needs govern, 62–3, 64; Conference achieves synthesis, 57, 63–4; recommendations, 109–16; French attitude towards, 57, *327–43 passim*; Belgian attitude, 57, 164; missionary attitude towards, 164–6; American Negro work in, 60, 61–2, 95–6; British Colonial Office Committee on, 56, 130, 164; commissions to West and East Africa, 56, 57; respective share of Government and missions, 59–61; grants-in-aid, 61; girls' and women's, 64, 65, 112–3; medium of instruction, 68–70; settlers' schools, 131; article on, *483–92*.
See also Religious Education, Training.
Europeans in Africa—
Number of, 20, 132, 155; influence of, on Native education, 65; need for closer relations between, 96–7; service white women could render, 98, 153; new attitudes of settlers and traders, 131.
Evangelism—
Range of message, 36; diversity of audience, 37; of Africa by Africans, 45, 47, 108; and education, 58; of Islam, 43–4, 106; recommendations on, 108–9; article on, *438–49*.
See also Approach, Church, Training.
Exley, A. M. E., *28*.

Food, *77–8*, 145.
Franck, Louis, *27*, 30; speech by, 137–41.
Fraser, Donald, 9, 28, 34; quoted, 11–2, 41, 48; article by, *438–49*.

Garraway, Sir E. C. F., *27*.
Gilks, J. L., *27*, 31, 73; quoted, *74*, 77–8.
Governments—
See Administration, Colonial Policies, Co-operation, Education, Health.
Governors' Conference, Nairobi, 88–9
Guggisberg, Sir Gordon, 130.
Gwynne, Bishop Ll. H., quoted, 34.

Harris, the prophet, 42.
Health—
Advance towards, 14, 73–80, 130, 139–40, 144; schools as health agencies, 62, 79; Christian view of, 79–80; recommendations, 80–1, 119–21; articles on, *402–17*, *515–32*.
See also Disease, Population, Vital Statistics.
Hennig, Bishop, quoted, 52.
Heritage of Africans—
Distinctive culture, 6, 15–6; pride in, 32; innate tendencies, 39; social heritage, 39–40; religious heritage, 41; heritage in music, 43; articles on, *390–401*, *418–37*.
See also Approach.
Hofmeyr, J. W. L., 35; minute secretary 175.
Hofmeyr, Mrs, quoted 38–9.
Homburger, L., 31.
Hope John, 62; quoted, 94–5.
Housing, 78, 131.

Industry—
Mixed influence of, 11, 14–5; co-operation of races necessary in, 83–5, 134; responsibility of shareholders, 87–8; welfare of Africans governs success, 87–8, 131–2; government encouragement of Native, 98, 131; vast possibilities of, 128–9; right conditions of, 140–1; problems of, in South Africa, 154–6 *passim*; the secret of adjustment, 168–9; article, *569–83 passim*.
See also Labour, Land, Colour Bar.
Initiation Rites—
In African's past, 62–3, *422*; the Church and, 50–1, *458–60*.
International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, *27*, 56, 69, 96, 107, 116, 118, 148–9, 166–7.
International Labour Office, 122.
International Review of Missions (Special Africa Number), 188.

ISLAM IN AFRICA—
Field for evangelism, 43–4, 106; converts from, *564–7*; literature for, 44, *71–2*, 118; animistic beliefs in, 48; three articles on, *533–68*.
See also Training.

Jabavu, D. D. T., article by, *376–89*.
Jeanes teachers, 60, 110.
Jones, T. Jesse, 19, 27, 31, 56, 62–4; quoted, 93, 170; speech by, 127–35.
Junod, H. A., review, *607–10*.

Kenya, 18, 60, 91, 131.

LABOUR—
Demand for, 5, 15; former conditions of, 84–5; forced labour, 17, 21, 87, 91, 130–1, 153; questions demanding answer, 86–8; co-operation of black and white in, 90–1, 141; Recommendations, 19, 121–2; articles on, *327–89*.
See also Colonial Policies, South Africa.
Laman, K. E., review, *594–6*.
LAND—
Demand for, 5, 84–5; questions demanding answer, 85–6; attitude of Nairobi Conference (1926), 88–9; recommendations, 89–121; articles, *327–89 passim*.
See also Colonial Policies, South Africa.
LANGUAGES, AFRICAN—
Multiplicity of, 11, 70; richness of, 46; knowledge of, essential, 31–2, 37–8, 138–9, *433*; challenge to missionaries, 45–6; recommendations, 46, 116–9 *passim*.
See also Education, Training.
LEADERSHIP, AFRICAN—
At Le Zoute, 26, 33; in women's work, 45; share in government, 130, 157–9.
See also Africans, Co-operation, Negroes (American).
League of Nations, 16, 17, 149, 150.
Lerrigo, P. H. J., 73, 76; article by, *515–32*.
Liberia, 26.
Lippens, M., 25; hospital ship of, 144.
LITERATURE, VERNACULAR—
Inadequacy of, 70–2; present provision, 70; for Muslims, 71–2; recommendations, 116–9; article on, *506 14*.
Livingstone, David, 4, 41, 50, 104.
Loram, C. T., 27, 47, 57, 99; quoted, 67, 68; article by, *476–82*.
Lucas, Bishop W. V., quoted, 40, 43, 51.
Lugard, Sir F. D., 27, 129–30; quoted, 97–8; speech by, 148–53.
Lugard, Flora L., 27; review, *591–4*.

Mabie, Catherine, 28.
Macgregor, J. K., quoted, 60.
Mackenzie, Jean Kenyon, quoted, 30–1.
Macmillan, W. M., 27, 99; speech by, 154–6.
Mahabane, Z. R., 26; quoted, 38, 48.
Mandates, 129, 133, 149.
Mazorati, Governor A., 27.
Medical missions, 76, 80, 120; article on, *515–32 passim*.
See also Health.
Miller, Walter R., quoted, 43–4, 106; article by, *556–68*.
Minutes of Conference, Le Zoute, 174–9.

MISSIONARIES—
New attitudes of, 19–20, 132–3, 162–70 *passim*; appreciation of, 4, 11–2, 141, 146–7, 159, 160; taking divergent views of Church, 54–5; in remembrance of, *589–90*.
See also Co-operation, Languages, Training.
Missionaries, preparation of, *see* Training.
Missions and the forces reshaping Africa, 162–70.
Missions, statistics of, 10–1, 106.
Mohammedanism, *see* Islam.
Montgomery, Bishop H. H., article by, *589–90*.
Mortier, Père, 27.
Moss, L. B., minute secretary, 175.
Muslims, *see* Islam.

NEGROES, AMERICAN—
At Le Zoute, 26; development of, 94–5; as missionaries to Africa, 100–1; recommendations, 122–3.

Oettli, W., review, *597–9*.
Oldham, J. H., 28, 31, 56; quoted, 21, 100, 105, 107; speech by, 162–70; article by, *402–17*.
d'Oliviera, S. E. Albert, 27; speech by, 160.
Ormsby-Gore, W. G. A., quoted, 75, 77.
Orts, Pierre, 27.
Owen, W. E., quoted, 38, 41.

Padwick, C. E., 44; quoted, 71.
Pearce, Dr Louise, 28, 73, 81; statement by, 146–7.
Phelps-Stokes Education Commissions, 18, 56, 96, 149, 150; article on, *483–92*.
Plessis, J. du, article by, *363–75*.
Polygamy, 51–2, 153; article, *450–66 passim*.
POPULATION—
Factors causing decrease in, 21; estimate of, 82–3; article on, *402–17*.
See also Disease, Health, South Africa.
PORTUGAL—
Colonization of Africa by, 2, 8–9; readiness to co-operate, 160.
PRAYER—
The Conference at, iv; devotional meetings, 34–5; addresses, 171–3; a fellowship of, 170; final message of Conference, 107, 170.
PROGRESS IN AFRICA—
In international policies, 148–9; mandate system, 149; economic development, 149; trusteeship for moral welfare, 149–50; education, 150–1; new methods of government, 151–2; teaching of religion, 152–3.

RACIAL QUESTIONS—
Changes in Africans, 22–4, 133; equality and inequality, 92–4; advance in U.S.A., 94–6; true lines of solution, 167–9; articles, *327–401 passim*, *533–46*.
See also South Africa.
RECOMMENDATIONS OF CONFERENCE—
Suggestions on Evangelism, 108–9;
Education, 109–16;
Language and Literature, 116–9;
Health and Native Welfare, 119–21;
Economic Questions, 121–2;

Recommendations of Conference—(*contd.*)—
American Negroes and Africa, 122–4;
Racial Problems in South Africa, 124–5;
Training of Women Missionaries, 125;
Transmission of Resolutions, 125–6.
Religion, African, 39–42, 48–52; articles, *418–27, 533–568 passim.*
See also Christianity.
Religious Education—
Importance of, 66; criticisms of existing, 66–7; proposed commission on, 67; in government schools, 67; Recommendations, 113–5; article on, *493–505.*
Richter, Julius, quoted, 23–4.
Roehl, K., review, *599–62.*
Rogers, F. A., 97.
Roman Catholic Missions—
Beginnings of, 8–9; results of, 10–1; service of, in Congo, 143.
See also Colonial Policies, *passim.*
Roome, W. J. W., 44.

Sage, E. C., 27, 61; quoted, 95–6.
Separatist Church Movement, 47; article, *476–82.*
Service, call to missionary, 104–5, 107, *567–8.*
Settlers, 18, 20, 96–7, 131, 132.
Slave trade and slavery, 2, 3, 8, 9, 17, 25, 140–1.
Sleeping sickness, 144, 146–7.
See also Disease, Health.
Smith, E. W., speech by, 39–40; review, *602–7.*
Social Questions—
Favourable factors, 14–7; unfavourable, 20–1; international influences on, 32–3; Africans' social heritage, 39–40; scientific study of, 132; in South Africa, 154–6; principles of right action, 167–9; article on, *569–83.*
South Africa—
Colonization of, 8–9; early travel in, 13; delegates to Conference from, 27; evangelization of women in, 45; benefits conferred by Government of, 99; problems of co-operation in, 98–100; colour bar in, 100, 129, 130–1; survey of situation in, 154–6; Native administration in Transkei, 130, 157–9; Conference message to, 124–5; articles on, *344–401, 569–83.*
See also Education, Labour, Land, Separatist Church Movement.
Spanton, E. F., 47; article by, *467–75.*
Stokes, A. Phelps, 27; speech by, 135–6.
Taxation, 99, 153.
Trade—
Livingstone's appeal for, 4; beginning of export, 5, 131; gain and loss of, 14–5; extent of, 83, 128–9; co-operation in, 84, 134–5, 149; responsibility of purchasers, 87–8; alternative methods of production, 90–1; test by cash dividends, 104; wiser policies in, 131–2; Africa attracts the world, 133; fair treatment of producers, 141.
Training—
Of missionaries, 12, 40, 107; women, 125; in the vernacular, 31–2, 37–8, 45–6; in customs and religion, 46, 109, 115; for Muslim work, 44, 109, *555.*
Of Africans, 47–8, 135; as evangelists, 47–8; for medical work, 80–1, 119–20, 139–40; as teachers, 61, 110, 111; article, *467–75.*
Transkei, 99, 130, 157–9.

Underhill, M. M., secretary of Conference, 174.

Verlaine, Professor, 27.
Vernacular, *see* Languages (African).
Vischer, Hanns, 27.
Vital Statistics—
Birth-rate, 21, 144; mortality, 74; influence of new treatments, 74–6.
See also Disease, Health.

Warnshuis, A. L., 28; secretary of Conference, 174.
Welsh, W. T., 27, 99; speech by, 157–9.
Westermann, D., 27; quoted, 41–2, 45–6, 70; article by, *418–37.*
Whitelaw, Miss, 28.
Wilkie, A. W., quoted, 57, 58–9, 63–5, 68, 71.
Williams, Garfield H., quoted, 66, 73–4, 76, 79.
Willoughby, W. C., 47, 53; article by, *450–66.*
Wilson, C. E., 70; article by, *506–14.*
Women, African—
Affected by labour conditions, 21; evangelization of, 44–5, 125; education of, 65–6, 112–3; commission to further, 113; literature for, 117; co-operation of western and Native, 45, 97–8.

'X,' article by, *344–62.*

Yergan, Max, 26, 31, 34; quoted, 38, 99–100.

Zoute, Le, 25.
Zwemer, S. M., quoted, 48; article by, *547–55.*

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Cape Coast Castle
Accra
C. Three Points
C. Lopez
Gaboon R.
Libreville
GABON
Annabon I.
Gulf of Guinea
Bight of Biafra
Fernando Po.
Clarence Peak
Rio del Rey
CAMEROONS
Calabar
Bonny
Bight of Benin
Lagos
Dahomey
Porto Novo
Whydah
Togo
Volta
Ashanti
Northern Territories
Kong Mts.
Bobo Dioulasso
Bissao
Bolama
Portuguese Guinea
Casamance
Gambia R.
Kuta
Bathurst
Bamakoo
Kaarta
Segu
Sokoto
Kano
Zaria
Zungeru
Nupe
Nigeria
Lokoja
Benue
Bida
Ilorin
Abeokuta
Lagos

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